

Ἀρχαιογραφία:

OR, A

V I E W O F Antiquity.

PRESENTED IN

A Short, but Sufficient Account of some
OF THE
FATHERS;

Men famous in their Generations, who lived within or near the first
three hundred years after

C H R I S T.

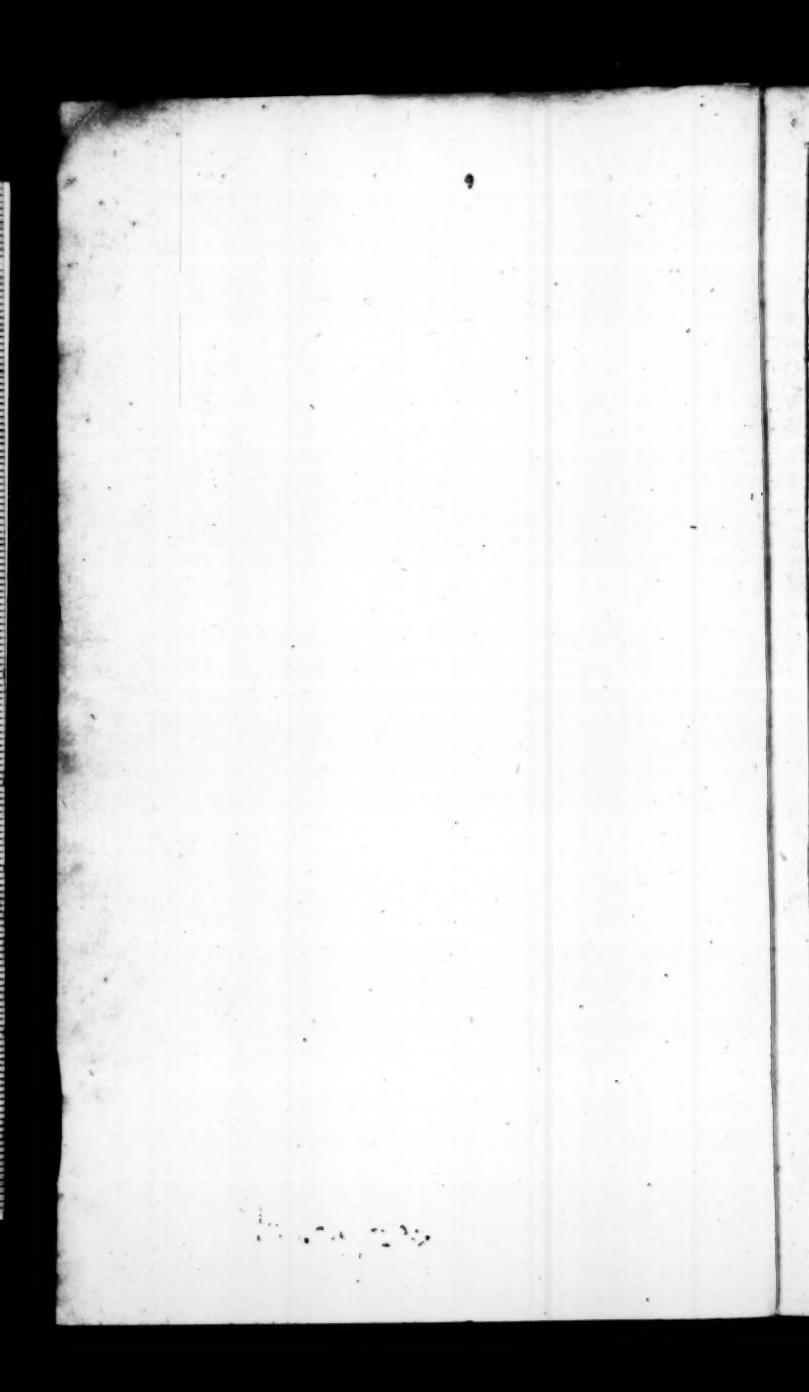
Serving as a Light to the Studious, that they may
peruse with better Judgment, and improve to greater Ad-
vantage, the Venerable Monuments of those Eminent Worthies.

By J. H. M. A.

*Perutile imo necessarium est, ut ad lectionem Patrum accessurus,
habeat antea informatam in animo methodum, & sciat, quid singu-
lis sit precipuum, & quasi emineat, ac ubi cavendi sint Scopuli,
&c. Chemnit. de lectione Patrum.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, and Jonathan Robinson; at the
Bible and three Crowns at the lower end of Cheapside, and
at the Golden Lyon in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1677.



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CHRIST.

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LONDON,

Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, and Jonathan Robinson; at the
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at the Golden Lyon in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1677.

Imprimatur,

*G. Jane R. P. D. Henr.
Episc. Lond. à Sacris
Dom.*

Decem. 9.
1676.



*To the Studios, Especially
such as are in the Mini-
stery or intend it.*

IT's our Blessed Saviour's Encomium of *John* the Baptist, that he was a burning and shining light, *John* 5. 35. in respect of purity of life, and perspicuity of Doctrine, which eminently appeared in him: herein is he a Minister's pattern, in whom both these are requisite: for light without life would make him little better then an *ignis fatuus*, apt to mislead; or like a Candle in the socket, not so pleasing by it's blaze, as offensive for it's ill savour; And life without light will render him of little advantage, if not prejudicial; both in conjunction make an happy mixture, and qualifie the person in whom they are for that weighty function. Reading is his proper work, *1 Tim.* 4. 13. Which, with pains about his heart, and

watchfulness over his flock, may well take up his whole time; there will be little overplus for the unworthy world or worse employments. One of the great wants he will have cause to complain of, will be of time, as too short for the dispatch of the grand affair personal and functional incumbent upon him: and indeed he that hath tasted the sweetness, or duly weigh'd the importance of those two, I much marvel how he should be taken off from, or neglective of either, for things comparatively so mean, and mostly pernicious.

That which best deserves our pains in study is,

I. In the first place the sacred Scriptures, discovering to us things most necessary and useful; without the knowledg whereof, all our other accomplishments will prove but insignificant things, serving only for vain ostentation, as no way furthering our own, or others chiefest good. These therefore call for our diligent and daily perusal; which we should labor to make familiar; so that they may as a choice treasure dwell richly in us in all wisdom, that we may be as Scribes instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven,

ven, able upon all occasions to speak a word in season unto any that shall have recourse unto us either for counsel and direction in their doubts or for comfort and consolation in their distresses. To which we should never forget to joyn fervent prayer for the obtaining of the Spirit, the only guide to the right understanding of these deep things of God, without which they will remain as riddles and a sealed book unto us; of the great advantage hereof to study, *Luther* (who each day spent three hours in this duty) out of his experience, thus speaks, *benè oravisse est penè studuisse*, and again, *hæc tria faciunt Theologum, precatio, meditatio, tentatio*; *Melch. Adam.*

2. Unto these, the writings of such as in the Christian Church are most Ancient, challenge the next place; who have obtained (as accounted worthy of it) the Venerable title of Fathers; as nearest successors unto the Apostles, And therefore for some Centuries together wont to be stiled *Apostolici*, even as many as preceded the first Council of Nice. *Parker de dsc. Christ. l. 4. § 10.* These well deserve our serious inspection, acquainting us not only with the meaning of the Scripture, but

the Doctrine also and discipline agreeable thereto, preserved in, and maintained by the Church; who were ever held in great esteem, and approved of by the Orthodox in the following Ages unto this day; from whom the Learned and Judicious Zanchy did scruple to dissent, comparing them to old Wine, which he preferred before new. *Epist. ante confes. fid.* and in his observations upon that his confession (composed by him for his family when he was seventy years old) we have him twice declaring his mind herein, viz. in p. 47. his words are these. *Hoc ego ingenuè profiteor talem esse meam conscientiam, ut à veterum patrum sive dogmatibus, sive Scripturarum interpretationibus non facile, nisi vel manifestis sacr. literarum testimoniis, vel necessariis consequentiis, apertisq; demonstrationibus convictus atq; coactus discedere queam: sic enim acquiescit mea conscientia, & in hac mentis quiete cupio etiam mori,* and p. 39. — *A quibus, inquit, presertim ubi pleriq; omnes consentiunt, me pro meâ tenerâ conscientia desistere non auctere, toti Ecclesiæ Christi ingenuè confiteor.*

To reflect upon foregoing Ages, in a Landskip of them is a thing both pleasant

sant and profitable; for thus we seem to live in more ages then one, and injoy the benefit of that experience which the narrow limits of our own cannot afford. This may we be, in a sort said to do, in the view of those Ancient Worthies who are the subject of the ensuing discourse; men living nearest the Apostles times, and most perfectly resembling them in their excellencies; the due contemplation whereof is like to produce the most notable effects in such as are seriously this way exercised. For what can be of more force to fit us for, and quicken us to our duty, then frequently to cast our eyes upon the pourtraitures of such men, in whom is represented what is most worthy our imitation; seeing that to learn by example is not only the most facil, but effectual way; this being, as the surest, so the most affecting sense, and what enters hereby, having the strongest influence. Who can look upon that burning Light *Ignatius*, whose heart did so flame, and life sparkle with love to Christ and his Church; and not find himself at least warmed with the like holy affection? Who take into consideration the indefatigable industry of *Origen*, and not be thereby excited to

mend his pace, and bewailing former slackness to fall to his work with double diligence? Would we behold the sweet fruit of uncessant study in the vast and various knowledge attainable thereby, making men shine as stars of the first magnitude in their several spheres and to communicate their streams of light to after generations; and would be awakened to the like course in order to the like, or at least considerable attainments? Let us fix our eye upon those magazines of learning *Clement*, and *Tertullian*. How eminently doth the beauty of Christian zeal and courage in maintaining the truth and opposing Heresie appear in those Heroick Champions *Iustine*, *Irenaeus*, *Hilary*, and *Athanasius* & Bulwarks for the defence & security of the one, against all the fierce assaults, and cunning underminings of its adversaries; and mauls and engines for the battering and beating down of the other. In the last of whom, together with it, was most conspicuous the grace of invincible patience, making him Adamant-like unyieldable unto the most violent attempts of restless persecutors. In divers of them may be seen in it's lustre that more then conquering grace of Christian

stian Constancy, not loving their lives
unto the death in the quarrel and for
the Honor of their Lord and Master,
obtaining hereby the glorious Crown
of Martyrdom, set upon their heads by
that Captain of our Salvation; Briefly,
what a goodly Map (as it were) of the
choicest Christian Vertues have we
meeting together, and shining forth in
holy *Cyprian*, as so many stars in a con-
stellation; Piety and Prudence, Meek-
ness and Humility, Compassion and
Charity, Patience and Constancy in
suffering often, and the utmost for the
sake of Christ? Of what singular ad-
vantage must it needs be to us, to have
the endowments we should strive after,
that may accomplish us for our station,
in such lively Colours represented and
the things we should practice so fairly
exemplified & set before our eyes, as in
these eminent men we find them to be?

And for their writings they are a
κειμήλιον, a precious treasure, from
whence being duly improved, we may
be furnished with such things as may be
of no small advantage to our selves,
and make us no less useful unto others.
For therein shall we meet with not a
few apt interpretations and expositi-
ons of many Texts of Scripture; such

as

as will afford us more then ordinary light for the right understanding of them : divers grave and pithy passages which may well serve upon several occasions both for illustration and confirmation of any suitable subject; Also, nervous & weighty Arguments wherewith they have so pressed and overborn the adversary, that the nakedness of error hath been discover'd to the confusion of it's fautors that have endeavoured to maintain it; and the beauty and strength of Truth to the great exultation and establishment of all that love it. Lastly, the best account of the face and state of the Church of Christ, both as to the sound Doctrine professed, and wholsom Discipline exercised in them; wherewith it may well be presumed they were better acquainted then most others, and could give us the fullest and truest information; it having been their special work to publish and defend the one, and they having had the chiefest hand in the management of the other; To all which add the necessity of a considerable insight into these Ancient Records, that we may become no contemptible Antagonists to grapple with, and (*ἡ ἀντιπαράστασις*, *Tit. 1. 11.*) to stop the
the

the mouth of those of the Romish Synagogue, who, having shamefully corrupted the Doctrines of Christianity, and shunning the trial and determination of the Scripture, betake themselves for shelter unto the monuments of these Worthies, audaciously pretending that they are theirs, and with greatest, though groundless confidence of their patronage.

The improvement of the Ancients in these regards is the design and scope of the following treatise, presenting the Reader with a Scheme both of their lives and labors, as may beget in the mind a fair *Idea* of both, and so prove a good step toward the attainment of the ends proposed; For herein a brief account is given of each of the Fathers discoursed of in this Decade;

1. Of their lives and special employments in the places of their abode; and the Dignities and Offices they were advanc'd unto; Together with their diligence and continuance in them; and various accidents betiding them.

2. Of their excellencies and accomplishments whether natural or acquired by their industry, with their Elogies in this regard; which shew in what singular esteem they were held
(as

(as they well deserved) by the most pious and judicious in succeeding ages.

3. The admirable products of their parts and pains, which they either left behind them, or intended so to do for the benefit of posterity; whereof,

1. Some are lost through the injury of time, little remaining of them besides their names and titles; which yet here you find recorded, as far as by diligent search and inquiry after them, they could be found. 2. Some have been happily preserved, and are extant at this day; and because in the Edition of the works of these Worthies the Brats of others (which they would impudently father upon them) are intermixed among their true and proper births, and of some 'tis doubtful whose they are; (and hereof the Romish Champions make no small use and advantage for the upholding of their tottering and desperate cause) you have here as full a Catalogue as could be gotten of whatever bears their names, with a hint of what kind they are, whether genuine, spurious, or dubious; to the end the Reader may know (as much as may be) whom he hath to do withal, and so his abuse herein may be prevented; And of the
genuine,

genuine, the argument and sum of each is briefly set down, together with the time and occasion of their writing, which may give some light to the understanding of them, help the Reader in his choice, and provoke to diligence and attention. 4. The Style they used, which in some of them is such as that a perspicacious and critical observer may be able thereby to make a judgment, whether the piece he is perusing be indeed the Authors whose name it bears, or no; which in some of them is so elegant, and adorned with the flowers of Rhetorick that it entertains the Reader with singular contentment and delight; and in whom it is otherwise, an intimation hereof is given, together with what may be apprehended to be the reason hereof. 5. A tast of the choice and useful passages, wherewith they do abound, which may serve for an invitation to the studious to bestow their time and pains upon them as being well assured they will be neither lost nor ill laid out, in case that care and judgment be not wanting; 6. And because they were (though more then ordinary) yet but men, and so subject to slips and failings, these are, *salvo honore*, taken notice

notice of, with the causes of, at least, divers of them, that as rocks and shelves they may be avoided; and the unwary student, together with what is Orthodox, take not in that which is unsound and noxious. 7. All is closed with the close of all, their deaths, whether natural or violent, by whom, for what, and when and where procured.

All which he that would thoroughly inform himself of (as in some measure from this Treatise he may do) shall find it, I doubt not, a notable clew to wind and extricate him out of those Labyrinths and Difficulties, which otherwise he may haply be involved in; and make his way and work by far more facil and pleasant; which that it may be the issue of this undertaking is heartily desired by him who is,

φιλάρεται & φιλαρχίων φίλ.

J. H.

Each Chapter consists of all
(or most) of these following particulars concerning each Father.

- 1 § **A** *Brief account of his Life and Travels in the Church.*
- 2 § *His Elogy and the esteem he was held in.*
- 3 § *His labors and writings: whereof,*
 1. *Some are lost.*
 2. *Some remain: of which,*
 1. *Some are dubious.*
 2. *Some are spurious.*
 3. *Some are genuine, and of these.*
 1. *Their sum.*
 2. *Their censure.*
4. § *His language and stile.*
5. § *Some notable and select passages.*
6. § *His slips and errors: whereof*
 1. *The Occasion and Ground.*
 2. *The Apology and Plea that may be made for some of them.*
7. § *His end and death.*

The

The FATHERS
treated of in this Treatise,
viz.

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ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣΚΟΠΙΑ;
OR,
A VIEW of
Antiquity.

I. *Ignatius Antiochenus.*

§ I.



S touching *Ignatius*, (sur-
named *Θεόφορος* and
Θεόληπτος) that Anci-
ent and Eminent Bishop
and Martyr, what Coun-
try-man he was; how

brought up and Educated, in what manner
and by what means converted unto the Chri-
stian Faith, and advanced unto the weightier
functions in the Church, is no where extant
nor recorded in history. The relation of *Nice-
phorus* seems fabulous, and inconsistent with
what is to be found in the Epistles attributed
by some unto *Ignatius* himself, wherein 'tis
said, that he never saw Christ corporally or
in the flesh. He therefore could not be (as

B

the

*So is Luther
called Θεο-
φορος qui
divino motu
fertur, numi-
ne affatus; by
Urban Rhe-
gius in loc.
com. vid. E-
pist. Joan.
Frederi in
ante Regini
loc. com. Ni-
cephor. l. 2.
c. 35.
Magd. cent.
2. c. 10.*

libi supra;

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Mat. 18. 3, 3.

the above-named Author reports him to have been) that little Child that Christ called unto him and set in the midst of his Disciples, commending simplicity unto them, and saying, *Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.*

Cent. 1b.

But though he so saw not the Lord Jesus, yet did he live, and familiarly converse with them, that had so seen him; being (as is generally received) the Disciple of the Apostle *John*, as were also his contemporaries, *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and *Polycarp* ordained by the said Apostle Bishop of *Smyrna*, as was our *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch* by the Apostle *Peter*, of whose right hand (saith *Theodoret*) he received $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\epsilon\chi\iota\epsilon\phi\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$; of which Church he was the third Pastor or Bishop, the Apostle *Peter* being the first, to whom next succeeded *Evodius*, one of the seventy Disciples, as saith *Dorotheus*. *Eusebius* makes *Evodius* the first, and our *Ignatius* the second Pastor there; which is true indeed of the fixed Bishops of that City: for *Peter* stayed but a while there, and then departed unto *Jerusalem* and other Eastern Regions. If therefore the Apostle *Peter* begin the Catalogue (as some make him to do) then is he the third; but if *Evodius* (as others) then the second Bishop of that place.

Cent. 2, c. 15.

His zeal toward the house of God was exceeding great, even burning hot; for which he was had in as great esteem, and most acceptable unto those of chiefest note, especially *Polycarp* and the rest of the *Asian* Bishops: where.

Hieronym.
Catalog.
Sculdet. in
Medul.

Episcopus
post Petrum
Antiochie
secundus.
Orig. hom.
6. cap. 1. in
Lucam. in
Synops.
Eccles. hist.
l. 3. c. 19.
Merid. Han-
mers Chronol.

whereof they gave an ample testimony by their flocking to him as the most famous man of all the East, when they heard that he was lead bound toward *Rome*. For in his way, being at *Smyrna*, the neighboring Churches having notice thereof, sent each of them their messengers to salute and visit him in their behalf; among whom were the Bishops of some of those places, accompanied by the Elders and Deacons; the like also was performed by the Bishop of *Philadelpbia*, upon his coming to *Troas*; An evident demonstration of the high and more then ordinary respect which they bare unto him; and his answerable worth who (as they deemed) deserved it from them.

Baron. an.
nal. an. 109.
§ 9.

ib. § 14.

§ 2. He was accounted the first and chief of the Oriental Bishops, as excelling them all, both in the holiness of his life, and his powerfulness in Preaching the Gospel; as well as in the prerogative of his seat: yea among the Fathers of the Primitive Church he holds the first place: A Doctor in every regard blessed; whom *Bernard* styles by the name of the great *Ignatius*, our Martyr, with whose precious reliques (saith he) our poverty is enriched: a most holy Man, and altogether the most Ancient of all now extant; one truly Divine, and even unto our memory famous and in the mouths of many: a clear evidence of his admirable worth, and that variety of the gifts of the holy Ghost where-with he was choicely adorned, a man of eminent Sanctity, as also a singular and fervent lover of our Lord Jesus Christ; in publishing the word of God very zealous and no less

Baron. an.
109 § 5.
Posseum.
apparat.

Usher Ignat.
Epist.

Theodoret.
Dialog. 1.
Serm. 7. in
Psalm. qui ha-
bitat.
Montacuta.
apparat.

Eusagr. hist.
l. 1. c. 16.
Eucl. 3. c. 32.
Sculter.
Medul.
Tritem. de
Script.

Rivet. Crit.
Sac.

Learned; in so much as his Learning, as well as his virtues were celebrated of old; amongst which, the magnanimity of his spirit in the cause of Christ, happily conjoyned with sweet humility and holy simplicity, did add not the least lustre to this accomplish'd Martyr.

Baron. an.
109. § 12.

Ibid § 5.

§ 3. The remains of his Learning and labors are only some few Epistles, written by him unto several Churches and Persons not long before his death; which as a certain well drawn picture do excellently represent and give us a lively image of him: for therein are notably discovered his vigorous and singular love to Christ, his fervent zeal for God and his glory, his admirable and undaunted courage and magnanimity in his cause, accompanied with such sweet humility and exemplary meekness of Spirit, that as in all he shewed himself to be a true Disciple and follower of Christ, so may he well serve as a pattern for the imitation of succeeding generation. *Talis erat sublimis illius animi submissio, & è contra, ejusdem submissi animi sublimitas, ut mirâ quadam connexione summima conjungat, quæ admiratione & delectatione animum simul afficiant.* Such was the submission of that sublime soul, and on the other side, such the sublimity of that submissive soul, that with a certain admirable connexion he joyned together the lowest with the highest, both which may well affect the mind with wonderment and delight.

Ibid. § 11.

These

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These Epistles do amount (as now extant) unto the number of fifteen, and may be divided or ranked in three sorts. 1. Such as are Genuine, and for the main and bulk of them by most apprehended and granted to be his; of which *Casaubon* thus; For the Epistles of *Ignatius*, to deny them to be (those) of that most ancient Martyr, and Bishop of *Antioch*, would be Heresie at this day; and verily as for some of them, we shall else where (if it shall please the Lord) defend their antiquity by new reasons.

Exercitat.
9 15.

These are six in number, though commonly thought to be seven, because so many are said to have been collected by *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and so many are contained in the catalogues both of *Eusebius* and *Jerom*. But that skillful Antiquary the Reverend *Usher* conceives, that the Epistle to *Polycarp* (which is reckoned among, and makes up the seven) is none of his; *Ignatius* writing no peculiar Epistle unto him, but that unto the Church of *Smyrna* only, directed both unto them, and also unto him joynly, as their Bishop, or Pastor: And this (saith that learned Author) I do not at all doubt to have been in the mind of *Jerom*; whose words, (*Et propriè ad Polycarpum commendans illi Antiochensem Ecclesiam*) are to be read as in a Parenthesis, not as denoting a distinct Epistle from that to those of *Smyrna*, but as relating to the same, For (as the quick eyed *Casaubon* observes) those words of *Ignatius* mentioned by *Jerom* immediately after, (*in quâ arte*) are not taken out of the Epistle to *Polycarp*, (as *Baronius* imagined) but out of that unto the Church

Hist. 3. cap.
32. in cata.
log. Script.
Ignat. Epist.
cap. 2.

In catalogo

Exercitat.
1 6. cap. 426.

Hist. lib. 3.
cap. 33.

cap. 17.

of *Smyrna*, where only to this day they are to be read, and not in the other. And *Eusebius* produceth the same words out of the Epistle to the *Smyrneans*: Thus, *Hic Ignatius cum Smyrnais scriberet, &c.* Hence *Honorius Augustodunensis*, in his Book *de luminaribus Ecclesie*, (being an Epitome of *Jerome*, *Ben-nadius*, *Isodore Hispalensis*, *Beda* and others) enumerating the Epistles of *Ignatius*, altogether omits that unto *Polycarpus*, which therefore ought to be (and is by *Usher* accordingly) ranked among the second sort of his Epistles.

The six Genuine Epistles then are these,

- | | | |
|-------------|--|---|
| | 1. To the <i>Ephe-sians</i> , wherein he mentions <i>Onesimus</i> their Pastour. | |
| | 2. To the Church of <i>Magnesia</i> , lying on the River <i>Me-ander</i> , whose Bi-shop was <i>Dama</i> . | All these were written at <i>Smyrna</i> in his journey from <i>Syria</i> to <i>Rome</i> . |
| His Epistle | 3. To the Church of <i>Trallis</i> , whose Overseer was <i>Poly-bius</i> . | |
| | 4. To the Church of <i>Rome</i> . | |
| | 5. To the Church of <i>Philadelphia</i> . | Written from <i>Troas</i> . |
| His Epistle | 6. To the Church of <i>Smyrna</i> . | |

Which

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7

Which yet the Centurists leave to the consideration of the diligent Reader, how unlikely it is that they who conducted him should go so much out of the direct way and Road leading to *Rome*, and fetch so great a compass about in their journey.

Cent. 2. cap. 10.

Though these (and these only) are judged to be genuine, yet have they not escaped the hands of those who have offered no small injury unto them; having most unworthily corrupted these ancient Reliques, partly by addition and interpolation of what never fell from the pen of *Ignatius*, and partly by diminution and subtraction of that which they saw would prove of disadvantage and prejudicial unto them. These Epistles (saith *Chevnitius*) have in them many sentences not to be contemned, especially as they are read in the Greek, but withal there are mingled other things, not a few, which verily have not in them Apostolical Gravity: It's most certain therefore (saith *Cook*) that his Epistles are either supposititious, or at least filthily corrupted; so mangled and changed by insertion or resection, That (saith *Rivet*) they are of little or no credit, but only in those things wherein they do agree with the writings of the Apostles, from whose Doctrine that *Ignatius* did not recede, both his Piety and Learning do perswade us. So that even those six Genuine Epistles, through the foul abuse that hath been offered unto them, have clearly lost much of that authority which they they had of old.

Examen pat. 1. pag. 198.

In censur.

Crit. Sac.

For the discovery of this fraud, take a few instances: In *Epist. ad Philadelph.* mention is

Cocl censur

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made of this Heresie; that there was in Christ no humane Soul: yet was *Apollinarius Laodiceus* the first author thereof, who lived about the year 370, a long time after *Ignatius*. And as this is foisted in, so are those words left out, which are cited by *Theodoret*, in *Dialog. 3.* being taken by him out of the Epistle to the *Smyrneans*: *Εὐχαρίστας καὶ προσφορὰς ἐν ἀποδείχουσιν, &c. i. e.* They, saith he, (speaking of those Hereticks that denyed the truth of Christ's flesh) *admit not of Eucharists and oblations, but reject them, because from the Eucharist is proved the truth of Christ's flesh.* For thus doth *Tertullian* learnedly argue, *lib. 4. contra Marcionem.*

*Sculdet. in
medull.*

*Quod est phantasma, figuram capere non potest;
Atqui Corpus Christi capit figuram, scil. panem;
Igitur Corpus Christi non est phantasma.*

I wonder therefore (saith *Sculdetus*) what judgment they have, who bring this place of *Ignatius* to establish trans and consubstantiation. That passage also mentioned by *Jerom*, (*Ignatius* that Apostolical man boldly writes, that the Lord chose Apostles who were sinners above all men) is not now to be found, which yet *Jerom* had out of one of the seven, (if not rather six) Epistles contained in his catalogue, for he speaks of (and therefore 'tis probable he had seen) no more.

*Lib. 3. ad-
vers. Pelagi.*

*Rivet. crit.
fac.*

The second sort of Epistles are such as are dubious, and concerning which it is very questionable whether they be his or no: of these there be also six in number, being the second collection, made (as the reverend *Vssher* conjectures)

*Ignat. E-
pist. cap. 6.
& 18.*

jectures) by one *Stephanus Gobarnus Trisbeita* about the year 580: by *Anastasius Patriarch* of *Antioch*, about the year 595: and by the Publisher of the Constantinopolitan Chronicle, about the year 630. So that in the sixth Century after Christ, they grew up to the number of 12, coming out of the same Shop that vented the Canons of the Apostles, augmented by the addition of 35 to the former; as also the Apostolical Constitutions variously trimmed and altered. So that these are of a much later date than the former, the only Genuine Birth of this famous Martyr.

These latter six are

1. *Epistola ad Mariam Cassabolitam*, or (as some call her) *Zarbensem*. In two ancient Manuscripts she is stiled *Maria Profelyta Chasfabolorum*, or *Castabolorum*. It seems to be derived from the place of her Birth or Abode, or both, which may be a City in *Cilicia*, in the lesser *Asia*, not far from *Tarsus*, famous for the Birth of the Apostle *Paul* there. For so I find *Strabo* making *Castabala* to be a Town of *Cilicia*, situate somewhat near unto the Mountain *Taurus*. *Pliny* also reckons it for one of the inland Towns of this Country, near unto which are the *Anazarbeni*, now called *Cesar-Augustani*: the Inhabitants of the City *Anazarbus* (fruitful in Olives, saith *Rhodignie*) the Birth place of the Renowned *Dioscorides*, as also of *Oppian* the Poet: so *Stephanus Bizantii*, Ἀναζαρβὴ πόλις καλλιὰς. To whom add *Niger*, thus speaking, The City *Cesarea* was aforesaid called *Anazarbeum*, situate near the Mountain *Anazarbeum*; Again, *Castabala* also is a
Coci Censur.
Usher Ignat.

Geograph.
lib. 12.
Hist. lib. 5. c. 25.

Cesarea Augusta Plinio,
quæ prius
Anazarba.]
Ptolem.
Geograph.
lib. 5. c. 2.
Lect. antiq.
lib. 12. cap.
19.
Vadian. E-
pit.
Lib. πρὶ
πρόσθαι.
In Geograph.
Asie.
Ibid.

nother

So also Ca-
stabala, op-
pidum Cili-
cie. Ptolem.
Geograph.
lib. 5. c. 8.

Usher Ignat.
ep. cap. 19.

Biblioth.
patr.

In Epist.

Epist. ad
Heronem.

nother Town beside the Mountain *Taurus*. So that with a little alteration (which might happen through time and the error of Transcribers) she might have the name of *Cassobolita* from the one, and of *Zarbensis* from the other of those Towns. Accordingly I find in one of the Latine Versions, this Epistle inscribed thus, *Ad Mariam Cassobolitam, sive Castabalitam*: And so doth the Reverend Primate chuse to name her in the same Chapter.

The Scholiast upon this Epistle, thinks this to be that *Mary* whom, among others, the Apostle *Paul* salutes, *Rom. 16. 6.* a woman of singular piety, and stiled by our Author, *πολυσοφον & πολυμαθησάτην*, most accomplished for wisdom and learning, and his most learned Daughter.

2. To *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*.

3. To the Church of *Tarsis*.

4. To the Church of *Antioch*.

5. To *Hero* Deacon of *Antioch*.

6. To the Church at *Philippi*.

Baronius is very confident, that these as well as the former are *Ignatii germanas eademque sincerissimas*, *The true and unfeigned Epistles of Ignatius*: supposing that none can rationally doubt thereof, who will compare them together; seeing that in the judgment of all the Learned, their agreement in stile, character and many other notes of words, sentences and things doth plainly speak out and evidence so much; Than which (saith he) a better proof cannot be brought or desired: so that there is no ground for the least suspicion of imposture. But these big words of his upon

Ad an. 109.
§ 19.

upon examination will appear to be of little or no force, as the Reverend *Usher* shews: for as touching the likeness of style, &c. between these Epistles, it is not such or so great, but he that would counterfeit *Ignatius*, might easily imitate him so far. The Forger observed some forms of speech and composition, frequently occurring and familiar to him, which he conceived was for his purpose carefully to retain. He considered that *Ignatius* delighted in compounding words with *φορῆς* in the end, and *ἄξιον* in the beginning: for as he himself was surnamed *Θεόφορος*; so are the Ephesians praised by him as *Θεόφοροι*, *ναοφοροι*, *ἀναφοροι* which words and the like he useth also in other of his Epistles. Hence the same words are taken up by the framer of these Epistles. So likewise in the true *Ignatius* we meet with *ἄξιονόμασιν*, *πρεσβυτέρων*, *ἄξιονάπλοι*, *ἄξιονδιδύμασιν*, &c. wherein he is imitated by his counterfeit, as also in divers other expressions and sentences, which the Impostor might do without any great difficulty: so that it ought not to seem strange, if there be in some sort an uniformity of styles found in them.

Besides, the deceit may be discerned by some passages contained in these, which cannot be imagined ever to have fallen from the pen of *Ignatius*, e. g. This is reckoned among the Heresies sown by the Ministers of Satan, that Christ is he who is God over all. Again, if any one shall fast on the Lord's day, or Sabbath (one only excepted) he is a murderer of Christ: Also, if any one celebrate the Pascha with the Jews, or receive the sym-

Coci censur.
Epist. ad
Tarsens.

Epist. ad
Philip.
Ibid.

bol

bol of the Festivity, he is partaker with those who slew the Lord and his Apostles: wherein he condemns the Romans, who used to fast on the Sabbath: and *Polycarp*, whom he calls most blessed, together with the Asian or Eastern Churches, who kept the Pascha or Easter after the manner of the Jews. *viz.* as to the day whereon they observed it: which plainly shew the Author of these Epistles to have been some latter, obscure and absurd fellow, altogether unlike *Ignatius*. Moreover, in these Epistles there is some mention of some stiled *Laborantes*, who are ranked among the orders of the Clergy: And *Diaconisse*, & *cujusdam Divini cursoris*, or Letter-carrier, of which Functions or Offices Ecclesiastical, there is a deep silence among the Ancients; which, how could it have been, had *Ignatius* written so plainly of them? Lastly, writing to *Polycarp*, he thus speaks, Attend unto your Bishop, that God may to you: what had he forgot, that he wrote to a Bishop? Almost throughout this whole Epistle, I find, saith *Scultetus*, the genuine *Ignatius* wanting. And well might he say so, had he only taken notice of those two words, which argues the Author to have been but a mean *Grecian*, and very unskillful in that language, *viz.* τὰ δεπότη, and τὰ ἀκνεπτα: as if the copious Greek were destitute of words, by which to express the Latine *deposita* and *accepta*.

Upon such considerations as these, the famous *Whitaker* thus concludes concerning five of these latter Epistles: (for he accounts the Genuine to be seven, because that to *Polycarp*

Epist. ad Antioch.

Epist. ad Polycarp.

In medull. in notis in Epist.

Lib. de Script. quæst. 6.

Iycarp is reckoned as distinct from that unto the Church of *Smyrna*, both by *Ensebius* and *Jerom*) It's apparent (saith he) that five of these are without doubt adulterate and spurious : Again, it's certain these are suppositious, and foisted in by others. And therefore though *Baronius* do affirm, that four of these should be added by the *Philippians*, unto the former, collected by *Polycarp*, and sent unto them; and that they were afterward commonly known both to the *Greeks* and *Latines* (which yet neither *Ensebius* among the *Greeks*, nor *Jerom* among the *Latines* (both of them curious enough in their enquiries) came to the sight and knowledge of) who can imagine, and would give credit thereunto upon the bare report of the Cardinal ?

Ad an. 109.
§ 19.

——— *Credat Judeus Apella,
Non ego.*

Besides these, there are three more of a later date added to the former by *Antiochus* the Monk, who lived under the Emperour *Heraclius*, and so seems to be coetaneous with the *Constantinopolitan* Chronicler, one of those formerly mentioned, who collected the second rank of Epistles, between which two collections there could therefore be no great distance of time. Thus now at last they are grown up to the number of fifteen: the three last added are,

Uther. Igoat.
Epist. 1 cap.
18.

1. One unto the Virgin *Mary*, together with her answer.

2. Two unto the Apostle *John*.

Which, saith *Bellarmino*, are not to be found

Descript.
Eccles.

Ad an. 109. found among the Greek Copies of his Epistles;
 § 34. nor do they at all favour of the Gravity of
Ignatius his stile. And *Baronius* leaves it to
 the prudence of the pious Reader, whether
 he will allow them any credit or no: Only
 (saith he) we know that they are cited by
 Appar. *Bernard*, and some later Authors make men-
 tion of them: But (saith *Possévine*) they
 are of no such certain credit as the other; yea,
 seeing they are not found written in Greek,
 nor mentioned by any of the ancient Fathers,
ad Bernardum usque, unto the obscure age of
Bernard: It's the safer course in my judgment
 Coci censur. (saith *Maistreus*) to rank them among the
 number of Apocryphal Writings, or at least to
 account them not altogether certain and ge-
 nuine. So faintly and dubiously do even the
 Romanists themselves speak of the authority
 of these three last Epistles.

Præfat. ad
 Epist. Ignat.
 in Biblioth.
 patrum.
 edit. Paris.
 1586. per
 Magarinum
 la Bigne.

Hence may we observe with what caution
 the Epistles of *Ignatius*, even the most re-
 ceived and undoubted (since so corrupted)
 are to be made use of; and upon how weak
 and sandy a foundation (*viz.* the pretended
 authority of *Ignatius*) the Papists build their
 unsound Doctrines, of superstitious honour-
 ing the Virgin *Mary*, of the name of Pope
 given to the Bishops of *Rome*, of the real
 presence, of collegiate and cloystered Virgins,
 of the vertue of the Sign of the Cross to ter-
 rifie the Devil, of their Feasts and lenten Fast,
 of the authority of Traditions and of the
 Church of *Rome*. And well may they be
 driven to such shifts, who shun the Scriptures
 as insufficient: yea, justly are they given up to
 these delusions, who not contenting them-
 selves

selves with the Sacred Oracles alone, and the Doctrines contained in them, (which are able to make perfect, and wise unto salvation) do fanſie and deviſe new ones in their own brains, and then Coyn and impoſe authorities pretendedly Ancient for the maintaining of them.

Nihil enim illis, quæ ſub Ignatii nomine editæ ſunt, putidius. Calvin. Inſtitut. l. 1. c. 13. § 29.

Friſtulous therefore and vain is the flouriſh of *Baronius* ; that it came to paſs by the admirable Counſel and providence of God , that theſe Epiſtles ſhould all of them be written by *Ignatius* , and notwithstanding the ſhipwrack which ſo many writings have ſuffer'd, yet that theſe ſhould be preſerved intire and uncorrupt : whereas 'tis very evident that the greater part of them now extant are counterſeit, and not his, and the genuine miſerably corrupted and alter'd. So that it may upon better ground be ſaid, that herein the good providence of God hath been eminent-ly ſeen, that he hath been pleaſed to ſtir up and aſſiſt ſome of his ſervants in vindicating the writings of this, and other of the Ancients from the injury that hath been offered them by baſe and diſingenuous ſpirits, who have preferr'd their own intereſt before the honour and truth of God ; and in plucking off the vizar, and diſcovering the fraud and Leger-demain of thoſe that would abuſe and cheat the world, by the obtruſion of Novelty inſtead of Antiquity thereupon.

Ad an. 109. § 30.

§ 4. His ſtile favours of a certain holy ſimplicity, as did the State of the Church at that time, full of gravity, ſuitable unto a primitive

Sculter in Medull. Vedelius. ex Uſher. Ignat. Epiſt.

mitive Bishop; lively, fiery and solid, becoming so glorious a Martyr.

§ 5. That which is chiefly remarkable in these Epistles, are those passages which are mentiond by *Eusebius* and *Jerom*, as being most unquestionably such as fell from the pen of this blessed Martyr: wherein are in a lively manner drawn and deciphered the purtraiture of his most excellent spirit, his singular and vigorous love to the Lord Jesus, (whose name is said to have been ingraven upon his heart in letters of gold) as also his undaunted courage and Magnanimity in his cause accompanied with unconquerable constancy and sweet humility.

Jerom. in
Catalog. ex
Epist. ad
Roman.
Ex editione
Usseri.

in mat om-
qipa.

Disputa ov-
in Cels.

1. His earnest desire of Martyrdom, he thus expresseth: From *Syria* even unto *Rome* I fight with beasts, by land and sea, night and day; bound with ten Leopards, *i. e.* with a guard of Souldiers, who are the worse for favors: But I am the more instructed by their injustice, yet neither hereby am I justified: Would to God I might enjoy the beasts which are prepared for me; who, I wish may make quick dispatch with me; and whom I will allure to devour me speedily (lest, as they have been terrified at others, and did not touch them, so they would not dare to touch my body) and if they will not, I will even force them thereunto; Pardon me, I know what is best for me: Now I begin to be a Disciple (of Christ:) desiring nothing of these things which are seen, so I may win Jesus Christ. Let fire, cross, and troops of violent beasts, breaking of bones, dissipation

tion of members, contrition of the whole body, and all the torments of the Divil, let them all come upon me, that I may enjoy Jesus Christ.

2. When he was now condemned to the wild beasts, and with an ardent desire of suffering, heard the Lions roaring; saith he, I am the wheat of God, whom the teeth of wild beasts shall grind, that I may be found the pure or fine bread of God. Immediately before which, go these words. I write to all the Churches, and injoyne them all; because I willingly die for God, if ye hinder not: I beseech you therefore that your love toward me be not unseasonable. Suffer me to become the meat of wild beasts, by whom I may obtain God.

Jeron. lib. cxi.
Epist. cxxviii.

3. His care of the Churches was very great, whom he earnestly presseth to holiness and a conversation becoming the Gospel: And commendeth unto Polycarp, (whom he well knew to be an Apostolical Man), the Flock or Congregation of Antioch; praying him to be careful of the business there, about the election of a Bishop or Pastor in his room: manifesting herein his zeal for God and his glory, as also his cordial affection and fidelity to the brethren.

Euseb. lib. 3.
cap. 31.

Besides these, there are in the Epistles other things worthy of notice, though not so undoubtedly his, as the above-mention'd; They are such as these.

4. His Creed or brief sum of Christian Doctrine, wherein he accords with the Apostles Creed. His words are, Beloved, I would have you to be fully instructed in (the Do-

Epist. ad
Magenian.
καταπορεται
δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ

ctrine of) Christ who before all ages was begotten of the Father, afterward made of the Virgin Mary without the company of man; and conversing holily, and without blame, he healed all manner of infirmities and sicknesses among the people, and did signs and wonders for the benefit of men, and revealed his Father, one and the only true God; and did undergo his passion, and by his murderers the Jews, suffered on the Cross under Pontius Pilate President, and Herod the King, and was dead, and rose again, and ascended into heaven unto him that sent him, and sitteth at his right hand, and shall come in the end of the world in his Fathers Glory to judge the quick and the dead, and so render unto every one according to his works. He that shall fully know and believe these things is blessed.

5. Though he were one of the most eminent men of his time both for Piety and Learning, yet out of the depth of his humility he thus speaks of himself, when bound for Christ and his truth and lead toward his Martyrdom; stiling his chains *πνευματικὰς μαρμαρέας*: spiritual pearls: although I be bound (saith he) yet am I not to be compared unto any one of you that be at liberty. Again, speaking of the Pastours of the Church; saith he, I blush to be named and accounted in the number of them; for I am not worthy, being the last, lowest or meanest of them, and an abortive thing: he also divers times stiles himself, *ἐλάχιστος*, the least,

In epist. ad
Ephes.

In Epist. ad
Magenian.

ἐλάχιστος.
Epist. ad
Ephes. &c.

6. Speak

6. Speaking of the Lords day; let every Christian, saith he, Celebrate as a Festival, the day of the Lords resurrection, which is the most eminent of all days. Epist. ad
Magenesian;
C. 1. 1.

7. A Pious and Religious Man is money Coyned and stamped of God; but a wicked and irreligious Man is false and counterfeit Coyn of the Devils making, *Matth.* Ibidem;
22. 20.

8. As touching Antiquity, thus: I have heard, saith he, some to say; I will not believe if I find not the Gospel among the Ancient Records. But to such I say, that JESUS CHRIST is to me Antiquity; whom not to obey is manifest and irreparable ruine. Epist. ad
Philadelphu
C. 1. 1.

9. The spirit of error preacheth Self, speaking it's own proper things, or notions, for it is self-pleasing, and glorifies it self: it is bitter, full of falshood, seducing, slippery, proud, arrogant, talkative, dissonant, immensurate, pertinacious, streperous. Epist. ad
Ephes.

10. He warneth the *Ephesians* to avoid and beware of Hereticks, of whom many were sprung up in his time; and for so doing he commendeth that Church as most pure, renowned, and to be praised of all ages, because they denied them passage, who wandred up and down to spread their errors, and shut their ears against them. These Hereticks in his Epistle to the *Trallensians* he particularly names, viz. Those who held the Heresie of *Simon*, as did *Menander* and *Basilides*, and their followers, the *Nicobolitans*, *Theodotus*, and *Cleobulus*: gi-

Epist. ad
Trallens.

ving them this Character, that they are vain speakers and seducers, not Christians, but *ἡγεμονοί*, such as set Christ to sale, and made a gain of him, fraudulently pretending the name of Christ, and corrupting the word of the Gospel; mingling the venom of their error with sugred words, as those that infuse poison into sweet wine, that by the delicious savour and relish thereof he that drinks it being deceived and taken, may unawares be destroyed.

Epist. ad
Roman.

II. To the *Romans* he thus writes: Request this only for me, that I may be supplied with strength, both within and without not only to say but to will, not only to be called, but also to be found a Christian. A Christian when he is hated of the world, is beloved of God. It is better to die for Christ, then reign to the ends of the earth. Life without Christ is death. My love was Crucified.

Scillet. in
Medull.

§ 6. As touching the cause of his Martyrdom, it's thus related. When the Emperour *Trajan* returned from the *Parthian* war, and every where in the Cities commanded Heathenish Sacrifices to be offered; which were sharply and justly reprehended by *Ignatius* even in the presence of *Trajan*; He was delivered bound with chains unto a band of Souldiers to be carried to *Rome*; whither being come, he was not long after brought into the Theatre, and there had two fierce Lions let loose upon him, and forthwith rent and devoured him leaving only the hardes

Baron. ad
an. 110. § 2.

harder bones; and so according to his desire, the wild beasts became his Sepulchre: which betided him in the Eleventh year of *Trajan*; and of *Christ*, One hundred and ten; After he had been Bishop or Pastor of the Church of *Antioch* the space of forty years: for he succeeded *Evodius* in that Office, *An.* Seventy one, and continued therein unto the year, One hundred and ten. Shortly after, *viz.* *Anno* One hundred and eleven, followed a mighty and terrible Earth-quake, wherein many perished in divers places, by the fall of houses which overwhelmed them; among other in the City of *Antioch*, *quam penè totam subruit*, which was almost ruin'd by it; At what time the Emperour being there was in great danger, and like to have perished by the fall of the house in which he lived, being drawn out of it through a window and so preserved; this terrible Earth-quake is particularly described by *Dion Cassius*.

In Epist. ad Roman.
Baron. ad an. 110.

Baron. ad an. 71. § 11.

Id. ad an. 111

Zonaras.
Tom. 2.

P. Orosius,
l. 7. c. 12.

In vita
Trajan.

Justin Martyr.

§ 1. **J**ustinus surnamed first the Philosopher, afterward the Martyr, he was the Son of *Priscus Bacchius*, of the City of *Flavia Neapolis*, of *Syria Palestina*; for so he styles himself: which City was before called *Sichem*, and corruptly in the time of Christ, *Sichar*, the Metropolis of *Samararia*, situate in Mount *Ephraim*, a City of Refuge: the Natives called it *Mabortha*; *Pliny Mamortha*; now it hath the name of *Naplosa*, or *Napolitza* and *Naplos*. Hence he is said to be a *Samaritan*, and he himself affirms so much, thus speaking, Neither did I fear to offend mine own Nation, the Samaritans, when I gave my Libel or Apology unto *Cæsar*.

Being a Philosopher greatly delighted with the Doctrine of *Plato*, he was afterward converted to Christianity by the courage and constancy of Christians in their Sufferings and Martyrdom: for hearing that they were led Captives, neither fearing death nor any torments which are accounted terrible: I thought (saith he) it could not be, that this kind of men should be subject unto vice, and set on pleasures; for what voluptuous or intemperate man can so embrace death? He also
elsewhere

Apolog. 2.
John 4. 3.
Adrichom.
in Theatro
Ptolem. Ge-
ograph. lib.
7. cap. 16.
Jof. 20. 7.
Plin. lib. 5.
cap. 13.
Magnin.
Geograph.
Epiphan. lib.
1. Tom. 3.
in colloq.
cum Tri-
phon.

Apolog. 1.

elsewhere relates how he was brought to the knowledge of the Christian Religion by a divine hand guiding him thereunto; after this manner.

In colloq.
cum Tri-
phon.

Being enflamed with a vehement desire after true Philosophy, he joyned himself to almost all the several Sects of Philosophers, in order to his attaining of it: In the first place, unto that of the Stoicks; from whom after a while he departed, because among them he could learn but little of God: leaving them, he next applied himself unto one of the Peripateticks, who demanding a reward of him, he forsook him thereupon, as not esteeming such a one (a meer mercenary) to be at all a Philosopher: from him he went to one of great fame among the Pythagoreans, who asked him if he were skilled in Musick, Astronomy, Geometry, &c. to whom he replied, That he was altogether unacquainted with those Sciences. Hereupon understanding that it would be but lost labour, to endeavour after the knowledge of those things that conduce unto true happiness, till he had gotten somewhat that way; he was much grieved that he should fail and be disappointed of his hopes. Therefore bidding him farewell, he betakes him unto the Platonicks, under one of whom he profited very much, and was greatly delighted in those Studies, deeming that in a short time he should this way attain unto the knowledge of God. Being much taken up, and eager in the pursuit of what he sought for, he gets him into a desert from the society of men, where he was followed by (as he thought) a grave old

man, who (when *Justin* turning about had espyed him) asked him, if he knew him: he answered no. After much discourse with him, he told him it was a vain thing for him to imagine, that he should find the knowledge of the truth among the Philosophers, who themselves knew not God, nor were assisted by the Holy Ghost, and having for some time had communication together about the immortality of the Soul, about rewards and punishments: *Justin* assented unto what he had said, and demanded of him by what means he might arrive unto the true knowledge of God. He willed him to read and search the Prophets, and to joyn prayer thereunto: Asking him again what Master he should make use of? Above all (quoth the old man) do thou pray that the door of light or illumination may be opened unto thee: for those things (which are contained in the Prophets) cannot be apprehended by any, but by him alone to whom God and his Christ will give understanding. And having so said, he suddenly vanished, neither did *Justin* from that time see him any more. Hereupon forsaking the Philosophers whom formerly he had followed, he forthwith fell upon this course, and so became a Christian.

As touching the former of these Relations, it is nothing improbable, that the admirable and extraordinary constancy of Christians in their greatest Sufferings for Christ might be an inducement unto him to enquire after the Doctrine and Religion which they professed, the truth whereof they could so willingly and chearfully seal with their blood: a notable demonstration

demonstration of the excellency and divine original thereof, and so might it make way to his conversion. Many instances might be given of the strange effects that such Spectacles have produced in the hearts of those that have been the Spectators: *Trajan* himself (who moved the persecution against the Christians) hearing good *Ignatius* (at that time when the Lions were ready to be let loose upon him) to utter those words, *I am the wheat of Christ, whom the teeth of wild Beasts must grind, to make me pure Bread for God*: With admiration breaks out into these words, *Grandis est tolerantia Christianorum, Great is the patience of the Christians: Who of the Greeks would suffer so much for his God?* To whom *Ignatius* meckly replied; *Not by mine own, but by the strength of Christ do I undergo all this.*

Antonin.
Chronica.

But as for the latter, whether he had such an apparition or no, and directions given him by his old man, what course he should take that he might come to the knowledge of the truth; *Penes lectorem esto*, I leave unto the prudent Reader to judge; yet was not *Augustin's tolle lege*, altogether unlike it; neither are Histories wholly barren and silent in relations of the like kind. The gravity and piety of the Author may justly challenge from us a suspension at least of our censure, and stir us up to take notice of the variety of ways that God hath (who can, if in his infinite wisdom he see it meet) go out of the way of his ordinary providence to bring his great counsels to pass, and the things he hath purposed to his chosen from eternity,

After

After that he had once given up his name
 Cent. 2. cap. 30. to Christ, he became a most notable Cham-
 pion and Defender of the Christian Faith a-
 gainst the Enemies thereof in every kind, e-
 specially the Heathen Philosophers, the bitter
 opposers of it, with whom he maintained
 with a great spirit many sharp conflicts and di-
 sputes for the vindication of it from their ca-
 lumnies : for which work he was singularly
 Euseb. lib. 4. furnished and instructed, being well studyed
 cap. 8. and exercised in the Doctrine of the Gentiles,
 and eminently skilled in Philosophy, as the
 very addition to his name more than inti-
 mates, being commonly stiled *Justin* the Phi-
 losopher. Moreover, he was very ready and
 expert in the Scriptures, as may be eminently
 seen in his Colloquies with *Triphon* the Jew,
 Acts 17. 24. whom (as another *Apollos*, and eloquent man
 and mighty in the Scriptures) he mightily
 convinced that Jesus was the Christ, and had
 undoubtedly won him to embrace the Faith,
 had he not rather chosen to imitate the inbred
 obstinacy of his Nation, than yield to manifest
 and invincible truth : as saith the publisher
 In Epist. ad and perfecter of that Latine Translation
 Lect. ante and Edition which *Gelenius* had began and
 opera Justin. enterprised, but could not finish, being pre-
 vented by death,

Epiphani.
 Hæres. 46.

Trithem. de
 Script.

§ 2. He was an holy man, and a Friend of
 God, leading a life very much exercised in
 virtue; an eminent lover and worshipper of
 Christ, which he abundantly manifested in be-
 ing one of the first that in those times of hot
 persecution (wherein the very name of Chri-
 stian was accounted a crime sufficient for them

to be proceeded against with utmost rigour) took unto him the boldness to be the Christians Advocate, (a Title peculiarly given to one *Vetius Epagathus*, who being moved with indignation at the unjust proceedings used against the Christians, desired that he might be heard in their behalf, undertaking to prove that no impiety was to be found in them; for which cause, he was afterward stiled *παρομολιτῆς & χειριστῶν*, the Advocate of the Christians) publickly to plead their cause, to clear their innocence, and to vindicate them from the groundless calumnies wherewith they were aspersed by their Adversaries, in his Learned Apologies; which he tendred unto the Emperours and Senate of Rome: As did also about the same time, *Aristides* and *Quadratus*, who all three presented their Apologies unto the Emperour *Adrian*; the like did *Asbenagoras* unto *Aurelius Antoninus* and *Commodus* the next succeeding Emperours. Wherein (having with singular zeal broken the Ice) they were afterward followed by divers: amongst the rest, *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, *Apollonius* a Noble-man and Senator of *Rome*, *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Tertullian*, &c.

Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 1.

Hieronym.
Epist. 34.

Euseb. lib. 4.
ca. 13. & 25.
& lib. 5. cap.
19.

Photius in
Biblioth.
num. 125.

He was one that had attained the height and top of Philosophy, both Christian and prophane, abounding in the riches of Learning and History; but little studious to set out the native beauty of his Philosophy with the borrowed colours of the Art of Oratory: and therefore, though his Books be otherwise full of strength and stuffed with knowledge; yet have they but little relish

or

In Colloq.
cum Tryph.

Epist. ad
Iect.

Imperato-
rem benignum
erga
Christianos
homines fecit.
Oros.
lib. 7. ca. 14.

Euseb. lib. 4.
cap. 13.

or favour of the sauce of Art, nor do they with winning inticements, and cunning insinuations allure vulgar Auditors: So much he himself freely confesseth; I shall (saith he) deal with you out of the Scriptures, not shewing much Art in the choice and quaintness of words; for I am not endewed with such a faculty; only God hath given me grace to understand the Scriptures. So that there is to be found in him more solidity and strength of argument, than of the flowers and flourishes of Rhetorick. And yet is not this later altogether wanting in his writings in the judgement of the Author of the Parisian Edition: For that he was an Oratour (saith he) is apparent from hence, that his Apologies for the Christians prevailed so far with the Emperours, that the rigour and cruelty that was formerly exercised toward them, was much mitigated and abated; which to effect, no small piece of Rhetorick was requisite.

The success whereof *Eusebius* gives us an account of, to this purpose.

The Emperour upon the receipt of his Apology became more mild, setting forth his decree at *Ephesus*, wherein among other, these words concerning the Christians are to be read. Concerning these Men, many of the Presidents of the Provinces have heretofore written to my Father *Adrian*: to whom he wrote back again; that such should not be molested, unless they were found to have attempted something against the Roman Empire. And many have informed me also concerning them; to whom I returned a like answer as my Father had done, If therefore here-

hereafter any one shall persist to occasion trouble unto such, as such ; Let him that is accused be freed from the accusation : and let the accuser undergo punishment.

§ 3. Of the Books which he wrote ; in the general *Eusebius* thus speaks : *Justin* hath left behind him unto Posterity many Monuments of a mind accurately instructed, and full fraught with profit in every kind : which seem to be the first after the Apostolical times that have come to our hands.

lib. 4. ca. 18.
In the knowledge of the holy Scriptures are very diligently exercised therein.
Bellarm. de Script.

Of these, some are lost and perished, only we find the names or titles of them recorded by himself and others ; of this sort are, as *Jerom* hath them.

1. A Volume against the Gentiles, wherein he disputeth of the nature of Devils : *ὡς ἐστὶν τῆς φυγῆς τῶν δαιμονίων* : *de exilio demonum* : of the Exile of Devils, saith *Suidas*.

In catalog.

2. A fourth Volume against the Gentiles, which he entituled *ἑλεγχος*, a refutation ; *Trithemius* calls it, *castigationum*, lib. 1.

Quæ ad nos pervenit. inquit Euseb. lib. 4. ca. 18. de Script.

3. Of the Monarchy of God : of which more anon.

4. A Book which he called, *Psalter*.

5. Of the Soul : *χολικὸν ὡς ἐστὶν ψυχῆς* : a Scholastical discourse, wherein various questions being propounded, he annexed the opinions of the heathen Philosophers, which he promised to answer, and to give his own judgement concerning them in a certain other Commentary.

6. Against *Marcion* the Heretick, lib. 1. *Euseb. ibid.* saith *Trithemius* : how many for number, it's

un-

de Script.
Cent. 2, c. 10.

uncertain. Books saith *Photius*, necessary to be read; stiled by *Jerom* *insignia Volumina*, famous and excellent Volumes.

Biblioth.
num. 125.

7. Against all Heresies; or Sects as *Suidas*, a profitable work, saith *Photius*.

Cent. ibib.

8. A Commentary upon *Genesis*.

In catalog.

9. A Commentary upon the *Apocalypse*: so *Jerom* in the life of the Apostle *John*. Being banished, (saith he) into the Isle of *Patmos*, he wrote the *Apocalypse*, which *Justin Martyr* and *Irenaeus* do interpret.

In apparat.

10. *Possevine* saith, that in the Catalogues of Greek Manuscript Books which came to his hands, is to be seen such an Inscription as this. *Justini Philosophi & Martyris, Explicatio in St. Dionysii Areopagite Episcopi Atheniensis Hierarchiam Ecclesiasticam, & mysticam Theologiam.*

11. An Epistle *ad Papam*: mentioned by himself in his Epistle to *Zena* and *Sirenius*.

The Books now extant under his name are of two sorts.

Omnium
consensu ip-
si tribuuntur
Sculter. in
Medull. E-
dit. Parisi-
ens. 1636. gr.
& lat.
Sculter. in
Medallâ.

1. Some genuine and by all granted to be his, viz.

1. *Paranesis*, his exhortation to the Grecians: wherein he exhorts them to embrace the Christian Religion as being of greater Authority, and of more antiquity than the Heathenish: and in the end, shews them the way how they may attain it.

Ibid;

2. An Oration unto the Greeks: wherein he lays down the reasons, why he forsook their Rites; and invites them, to embrace the Christian Religion.

Yet is neither of these mentioned by *Eusebius* or *Jerom*.

3. His first *Apology*, unto the Senate of *Rome*; which *Bellarmino* conceives to be the later, and not given up unto the Senate (as our Books have it) but unto *Marcus* and *Lucius* the Successors of *Pius*, and that this common deceit was hence occasioned, because the first *Apology* (as they are usually placed) wants the beginning, and therefore it could not be known unto whom it was directed.

De Script.
Ecclef. &
Baron. ad an
164. § 14.

Herein 1. He complains of their most unjust proceedings in punishing the Christians merely for the name.

2. He makes answer unto those things which were objected to them by the Gentiles.

3. He requests them, that to their decree, if they should publish any thing concerning this thing, they would publickly annex this *Apology*, that the innocency of the Christians might be known unto all.

4. His second *Apology* which he tendred unto *Antoninus Pius*, to his Sons, and to the whole Senate and people of *Rome*; which *Baronius* calls, *fortem & gravem Apologiam*, a strong and grave *Apology*, first named both by *Eusebius* and *Jerom*, and therefore likely to be the first of the two. The sum whereof *Baronius* gives us in these words: *Multa exprobrat de iniquissimis in Christianos judiciis, &c.*, i. e. He much upbraids them for their most unjust proceedings against the Christians, viz. for that without any inquiry into cause or matter, they were adjudged to death as the most impious and flagitious of all Men; and that for no other reason, but because they were

Ælius, A.
drianus.

Baron. ad
an. 150. § 2.

were Christians; the very name being accounted crime enough. Wherefore he doth notably clear them from the several calumnies cast upon them, and fully demonstrates their innocency by many arguments: particularly that they were not such as they were commonly fam'd to be, *viz.* Atheists, because though they worshipped not the gods of the heathen, yet they knew the true God, and performed that service that was agreeable unto him: Also that they looked not for an earthly kingdom (as was suspected of them, for which cause the Romans stood in fear of a Rebellion and their defection from them) but a Divine and Heavenly, that made them most willing to run the hazard, and suffer the loss of this present life; which they never could do, were they possessed with any desires of reigning in the World. Moreover, he wipes off those blasphemies wherewith the Christians were loaded, for their worshipping of a crucified Man, by such as were altogether ignorant of the mystery of the Cross of Christ. Shewing, that the Religion of such as worshipped the gods was but a vain and sordid superstition. He likewise Learnedly and copiously discourseth of the Divinity of Christ, and of his incarnation or assuming our Nature: and unfolds many things of the mystery of the Cross: and by many clear and convincing arguments proves the verity of the Christian Faith: withal insinuating their harmless Life, exact observance of chastity, patience, obedience, peaceableness, gentleness, and love, even to their very enemies. Lastly, he lays before them
the

the Rites or manner observed by the Christians in their sacred Mysteries, viz. *Baptism*; and the *Lord's Supper*, &c. because of the slanders that were raised and scattered abroad concerning them, as if horrible and abominable things were practiced by them (such indeed as are not to be once named among them) in their secret meetings upon such occasions. All which he performed with such admirable liberty and boldness, as became so zealous an Advocate in so good a cause: wherein the magnanimity of his Spirit moved with an holy indignation, may evidently be discern'd by the seriousness of the matter contained in it, and the solidity of the arguments by which, what he undertook is fully proved.

5. A Dialogue or Colloquy with *Tryphon* a Jew: which *Morel* calls, *Illustris disputatio*; a notable disputation in *Ephesus* a most famous City of *Asia*, with *Tryphon* the chief of the Jewish Synagogue, continued by the space of two whole days, for the truth of the Christian Religion: wherein he proves the Jews to be incredulous, contumacious blasphemers of Christ and Christians; Infidels and corrupters of the Scriptures, falsely interpreting the words of the Prophets: and most clearly demonstrates by innumerable testimonies, fetched from the old Law, that Jesus our Saviour, is the true Messiah, whom the Prophets foretold should come.

In præfat. ad
opera Justini.

Cont. l. c. 104

Possevin. in
apparatu.

6. An Epistle to *Zena* and *Serenus*; which comprehends the whole life of a Christian man, whom he instructs in all the duties belonging to him: of which yet *Bellarminæ*

D

makes

De Script.
Eccles.

makes some doubt whether it be his or no.

Scullet. in
Medul.

7. An Epistle unto *Diognetus*; wherein he shews why the Christians have left the Jews and Greeks; what their life and doctrine is, and why they contemn death. As not the two first, so neither are these two last mentioned by *Eusebius* or *Jerom*: yet are all these seven conceived to be the proper works of *Justine*.

Besides these there are other extant under his name, which yet are either question'd, or conceived to be none of his; but supposititious, & falsely ascribed to him. They may be discerned from those that are genuine, either by the diversity of the Stile, or some other evident Notes distinguished the one from the other. And they are these that follow.

Scullet. in
Medul. Ri.
vet. crit. fac.

1. His Book *de Monarchia*: the Stile whereof is not unlike that of *Justine*: yet is it doubtful, whether he were the Author of it: 1. Because the Title differs from that mentioned by *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Photius* and *Suidas*, who intitle the Book written by him, *de Monarchia Dei*: whereas this is only *de Monarchia*. 2. In that he tells, that he fetcheth Testimonies not only from our own Authors, *i. e.* the sacred Scriptures; but also Writings of the Heathens: whereas in this now extant, the later sort of Testimonies only are to be found.

In observat.
Ri et. crit.
fac.

Gelenius also in his Latin Edition of the Works of *Justin*, (which he saith comprehended all those then extant) leaves this out altogether. *Perionius* therefore concludes, that either this, that we now have is not per-

perfect, but wants many pages; or else for certain *Justin* wrote another Book upon this Subject. *Miræus* is of this judgement, that half of the other Book *de Monarchia* remains; and that half of one Book *de Monarchia Dei* is lost.

Note in Hieronym. Catalog. in Biblioth. Eccles.

The sum of it is to exhort the Greeks, to leave their idolatry, and to worship the true God; whom their Poets did acknowledge to be the only Creator and Governour of all things; but made no reckoning at all of their feigned gods.

Sculptet. in Medull.

2. An exposition of the true Faith, or of a right Confession of the holy and co-essential Trinity. Which by divers Arguments may evidently be proved to be none of his; especially.

1. By the Stile, which seems to differ from that of *Justin*, being more curt and neat than his.

Cent. 9. cap. 10. Sculptet. in Medul.

2. Because he speaks much more apertly and distinctly of the Mysteries of the Trinity, and Incarnation, than the Writers of that age are wont to do.

Bellarmin. de Scrip.

3. None of the Ancients make mention of it.

4. The words, *μονάδος, τεράδος, &c.* were not then so usual in the Church: nor are they any where to be found in the Writings of *Justin*, when as yet he sometimes professedly handles the Doctrine of the Trinity.

Bellarminé himself therefore is doubtful of it: *Ambigo*, saith he, *an ejus sit*: and well he might, there being so much cause. But whoever were the Author of it, it is an excel-

Ibid.

Sculptet. ibid.

lent and profitable discourse, and worthy of such an Author as *Justin*.

Herein he shews, that there is indeed but one God, who is known in the Father, Son, and holy Spirit; and that these three have but one and the same Essence, as also discourseth of the Incarnation of the Word; who is Mediator according to both Natures, the manner of the Union whereof in Christ is ineffable.

In apparat.
ad an. 165.
§ 8.

De Script.
Ecclesi.

3. A confutation of certain Opinions of *Aristotle*: which (saith *Possevino*) *Justin* did not write; neither will *Baronius* undertake to determine whether it be his or no. *Eusebius*, *Jerom* and *Suidas* mention it not; for which cause it is justly rejected, as not written by *Justin*; though *Photius* speak of it as his, and it have no evident note of falshood, in the judgement of *Bellarmino*; Therefore, saith he, I have nothing to say one way or other.

Bellar. ibid.
& Possevin.
in apparat.

4. Certain Questions propounded by the Christians to the Gentiles, and their Answers to them, together with a confutation of those Answers. Which piece, as the Stile bewrays it to be none of *Justins*; so may it easily be discerned also from the often mention of the *Manichees* in the confutation of the answer to the first question: who arose above an hundred years after *Justin*.

Cent. 3. cap.
10.

5. Certain questions propounded by the Greeks or Gentiles, with the answers of the Christians unto them. Which are ranked with the former by the Centurists.

In apparat.
de Script.

6. This answers to 146 questions, unto the Orthodoxes; it seem not to *Justins*, saith *Possevino*

Possesine; the same thinks *Bellarmino*: yea, that this is certain, many things contained in them do plainly evince. As 1. Some words, which were not in use in the Church, till a long time after *Justin*. e. g. ὑποστασις, περὶ ὧν, &c. 2. In them is cited *Irenaeus*. Quest. 115. whom he styles a Martyr: yet did *Justin* die some forty years before: viz. An. 165. where *Irenaeus* suffered Martyrdom, an. 205. according to the account of *Baronius*. Also *Origen* is quoted, Quest. 82. & 86. who yet was long after *Justin*. 3. Divers passages are here to be found, which are cross to what is contained in the genuine Writings of *Justin*. e. g. That the Witch of *Endor* did but delude the eyes that they seemed to see *Samuel*, when 'twas not he. Quest. 52. whereas *Justin* asserteth that 'twas the true *Samuel* that was raised. Also, Quest. 112. the Angel that spake wth *Jacob* and *Moses*, and other of the Patriarchs, is said to be a created Angel; and that for his office committed to him; he was honoured with the name of God. Whereas *Justin* earnestly contends and affirms, that that Angel was Christ the Son of God.

Scultet. in
Medull. 3.
Cœci censuræ
& Cent. 2.
cap. 10.

In Dialog.
cum Try-
phon.

Add hereto, that the stile shews them to be counterfeit; which seems (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) not unlike unto that of *Theodore* in his questions upon the *Octateuch*: and it is conceived that they were written by some one who lived about that time. Besides all this, there are among them so many questions and answers, unworthy of the Piety, Candour and Learning of *Justin*, that if they be compared with his true Writings, they will be found to differ no less than Gold and Lead, the one from the other.

Biblioth.
lib. 4.

Sylburg. in
Annotat.
Scultet. in
Medull.

Dr. James
corruption of
the Fathers.
Coci. censur.

Upon how frail a foundation then are those unsound Doctrines of the Papists built (for the proof whereof these spurious Writings are often alledged) viz. the lawful use of the Cross, the Virgin *Mary* without sin, keeping and worshipping of Reliques, religious Vows, Baptism necessary unto Salvation, the use of Chrism, Ceremonies of the Mass, Free-will and that Confirmation is a Sacrament.

Cent. 2. Cap.
36.

§ 4. The stile that *Justin* used, was vehement and worthy of one that handled serious matters: but it came nearer to that of the Philosopher, than to that of the Orator; which is the reason why he is sometimes obscure.

§ 2. Many things of special Note, and very observable are to be met withal in this ancient Author: among the rest are such as these.

Apolog. 2.

Amongst Pres-
ident.

1. He acquaints us with the manner of the Christians performance of the duties of worship in their publick Assemblies; which was thus: Upon the day which is called *Sunday* (saith he) or the first day of the Week, are the Meetings or publick Assemblies of those inhabiting both the City and Country: where are read, as time will permit, the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles: the Reader having ended, the Pastor or President makes an exhortation instructing and stirring them up to imitation of things that are honest: Afterward, we all rise up together, and offer up Prayers; which concluded, there is brought forth Bread, and Wine, and wa-
ter;

ter: then the Pastor, according to his ability, offers up Prayers and Thanksgivings, the people saying *Amen*. Then being consecrated, they are distributed unto every one, and sent to such as are absent by the Deacon. The wealthier sort, if they please, contribute somewhat, as they will: and what is gathered, is deposited with the Pastor; who therewith relieves Orphans, Widdows, and such as through sickness, or any other necessity are in want; as also such as are in bonds and strangers; briefly he takes care of all that are poor. And therefore do we meet upon *Sunday*, because upon it God dispelling the darkness, and informing the first matter, created the World, and also because upon that day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose again from the dead.

Son Dominus: with all his might or earnestly: Thorndike of religious assembl. and service, cap. 7. rendered, Langus, quantum pro virili sua potest. by Gelenius; quantum potest.

And a little before he thus speaks of the same Matter. After Baptism we bring him that believes and is added to us, to the place where the Brethren, as they are called, are congregated, making their joynt Prayers for themselves, or he that is Illuminated or Baptized, and for all others every where, with all their might. Prayers being ended, we mutually salute one another with a kiss; then is there offered unto the Pastor (or President) Bread and a Cup of Water and Wine: he receiving them, returns or sends up Praise and Glory unto the Father of all things, through the name of the Son and holy Spirit; and largely gives thanks, for that he accounted us worthy of these gifts: when he hath finished the Prayers and Thanksgiving, all the people that are present, follow him with their

συνοχὴ τῶν μαθητῶν.

ἀναμνησθε

ἡμεῖς οὖν

ἡμεῖς οὖν
καὶ ὑμεῖς

well-wishing acclamations, saying, *Amen*. And, *Amen*, in the Hebrew Tongue, signifies, be it so. Then, after that the President hath ended the Thanksgiving, and all the people have given their acclamations and approbations, they that with us are called Deacons distribute to every one of those that are present, that each may partake of that Bread, Wine and Water, that hath been blessed, and carry it unto those that are absent. And this nourishment or food among us is called the Eucharist: Whereof it is not lawful for any to partake, but only such a one as believes our Doctrine to be true, and hath been washed in the laver for remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and lives so as Christ hath delivered or taught.

In this plain and simple manner were the Ordinances according to Christs institution then administred; without all those pompous Observations, Ceremonies and superstitious Additions, which in after times by degrees were brought in, practised and prevailed to the great dishonour of God, detriment of Souls, disturbance of the Church, and despoiling of the Ordinances themselves of much of their beauty and lustre, which then shines forth most, when they are preserved in their native purity, and kept most free from all debasing mixtures of mens devices and adventitious supposed Ornament, which rather deform than deck and adorn them.

2. Of the sufferings of the Christians, their joy in them, with the ground thereof, and the admirable issue of these, he thus speaks.

In Dilecto
cur Iry-
phos.

Dum cadimus, letamur, &c. when we are slain

slain, we rejoyce, having this perswasion that God will raise us up by his Christ. There is none that can terrifie or bring us into bondage, who by believing have given up our names to Jesus; this is manifested through all the earth: For when we are slain with the sword, crucified, and punished with bonds, fire, and all kind of torments, it is sufficiently known that we forsake not our profession: and the more we are tormented, the more is the number of Believers, and such as embrace the true Religion, through the name of Jesus increased. For as by pruning, the Vine spreads and becomes more fruitful; so fares it with us: for his people are a Vine or Vineyard planted by God and our Saviour.

3. He shews that the gift of casting out Devils, of Prophecie, and other extraordinary gifts of the holy Ghost, continued unto this time. Whereof he thus speaks.

We call Jesus Christ our Helper and Redeemer, the virtue of whose Name the Devils tremble at and fear; and even at this day being adjured by the Name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, the Governour of *Judea*, they obey us: that thence also it may appear unto all that the Father hath given him so great power, that even the Devils are subject to his Name, and to the Oeconomy, or dispensation of his Passion. Now if the Oeconomy of his Passion be shewn to have obtained, and to obtain so great power, how great will it be at his glorious appearing?

Concerning this we have another passage to the same purpose, in his first (as its ordinarily accounted) Apology: as also no less than

Dialog. cum
Triphon.

ὁ κενός τις
ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
ἐστὶν αὐτός.

Apolog. 1.
pag. 31. gr.
lat. Edit.

Dialog. cum
Tryphon.
pag. 12.

than twice more doth he make report thereof in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*. In the last of which places (which I therefore set down as his Creed, because it contains the sum of the Articles of the Apostles Creed, that respect Jesus Christ) he thus saith: By the Name of this very Son of God, and first born of every Creature, born of the Virgin, and made a Man subject to sufferings, crucified under *Pontius Pilate* by your Nation, who died and rose again from the dead, and ascended into Heaven; every Devil adjured is overcome and brought into subjection. But if ye should adjure them by any name of the Kings, or just Men, or Prophets, or Patriarchs that have been among you, not one of them should yield obedience. Again, mentioning that Prophecie: I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and upon my Servants, and upon mine Handmaids, and they shall prophesie: Among us (saith he) you may see both women and men, having gifts from the Spirit of God. Lastly, among us even unto this day there are propheticall gifts: from whence you ought to understand, that those (gifts) which of old time were in your Nation, are now translated unto us.

Ibid. pag. 15.

Pag. 308.

Dialog. cum
Tryphon.
pag. 289.

Of such places of Scripture as do seem to contradict one another, he declares what he himself doth, and others should think of them. I shall never dare to think or say that the Scriptures are contrary one unto another: but, if any Scripture be propounded, which seems to be such, and to have a shew of being contrary to some other; I being thoroughly perswaded, that no one Scripture is contrary unto another

ther, will rather confess that I do not understand the things that are spoken; and will endeavour that those who suspect the Scriptures to be contrary, would rather be of the same mind with me. So great was the reverence and respect that he bare unto the sacred Scriptures.

5. Unto what persons, and in what manner Baptism, was then administered, he acquaints us, saying :

As many as are perswaded and do believe those things that are taught and spoken by us to be true, and promise to live accordingly, they are taught to pray fasting, and to beg of God the pardon of their former sins, we praying and fasting together with them: Then are they brought by us unto the place where the water is, and are regenerated after the same manner of Regeneration wherewith we were regenerated. For in the name of the Father and Lord God of all, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit they are then washed in Water.——And through the Water we obtain remission of those sins which we had before committed. And this washing is called illumination, because the minds of those that learn these things are enlightned.

Apolog. 2. p. 93. 94.

poli. C. 2. 2. 4

6. We make account that we cannot suffer any harm from any one, unless we be convicted to be evil-doers, or discovered to be wicked persons. You may indeed put us to death, but you cannot hurt us.

ibid. p. 54

7. Such was the innocency and tenderness of Christians; that, whereas (saith he) before we believed, we did murder one another

they

Apolog. 2.
p. 78.

ther, now we not only do not oppugn or War against our enemies, but, (that we may not lie nor deceive the Inquisitors) confessing Christ we die willingly.

ibid. p. 83.

8. So great was the courage and resolution of Christians: that although, saith he, it were decreed to be a capital crime for any to teach or even to profess the name of Christ; we notwithstanding both embrace and teach it.

Exhortat. ad
Græcos. P.
13.

9. Concerning the Translation of the *Septuagint*, he gives this account: That *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, erecting a Library at *Alexandria*, and understanding that the Jews had ancient Books which they diligently kept, he sent for seventy wise men from *Jerusalem*, who were skill'd both in the Greek and Hebrew Tongues, and committed unto them the care of translating those Books. And that being free from all disturbance they might make the quicker dispatch of the translation, he commanded a like number of Cells, or little Rooms to be made, not in the City itself, but about seven furlongs from it, where the *Pharos* was built, that each one should finish his interpretation by himself alone, requiring the servants attending them, to be in every regard serviceable to them; only to hinder them from conversing together, to the end that the exact truth of the Interpretation might be known by their consent. And coming to know that these seventy men used not only the same sense, but also the same words in the translation, and that they differ'd no not so much as in one word one from another, but had written in the same words of the

the same things ; being hereat astonished, and believing the Interpretation to be accomplished by divine assistance, he judged the men worthy of all honour as loving, and beloved of God, and with many gifts commanded them to return again into their own Country: And having the books in admiration (as there was cause) and consecrating them unto God, he laid them up there in the Library : These things we relate unto you, O ye Greeks, not as fables and feigned stories, but as those who have been at *Alexandria*, and have seen the footsteps of those Cells yet remaining in *Pharos*: This we report as having heard it from the Inhabitants, who have received the memorable things of their Countrey by tradition from their Ancestors : Which also you may understand from others, and chiefly from those wise and approved Men who have recorded these things , namely *Philo* and *Josephus*.

10. Concerning the *Sibyls*, thus, O ye Greeks, If you have not greater regard unto the fond or false imagination of them that are no gods, then unto your own salvation give credit unto the most ancient *Sibyls*, whose Books happen to be preserved in the whole World, teaching you from a certain powerful Inspiration by Oracles , concerning those who are called, but are not gods: and plainly and manifestly foretelling the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all things that were to be done by him. For the knowledge of these things will be a necessary *pre-*
ludium or preparation unto the Prophecies,

Exhortat.ad
Graecos pag.
34.

διὰ χρισ-
του.

προεργασια
του

or

or to the reading of the Prophecies of holy Men.

§ 6. Though his excellencies were great, yet were they accompanied with many imperfections, viz. his slips and errors that he had, which we shall briefly point at and give notice of, and they were such as these.

Victor.
Schol. in Hi-
eronym. ca-
talog. Hier-
onym. in ca-
talog.

Hieronym.
ibid.
Euseb. lib. 3.
c. 36.

pag. 308. E-
dit. Gr. &
Lat. Paris.

1. He was an express *Chiliasm* or *Millenary*, and a most earnest maintainer of that opinion, as were many of the Ancients beside him, viz. *Irenaeus*, *Apollinarius* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, *Nepos* an Egyptian Bishop, *Tertulian*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, &c. The first broacher of this error was *Papias*, the Auditor or Disciple of *John*, not the Apostle, but he who was called Presbyter or Senior, and whose the two latter Epistles of *John* are by some conceived to be. This man was passing eloquent, but of a weak and slender judgement, as by his Books appears; yet did he occasion very many Ecclesiastical Men to fall into this error, who had respect unto his Antiquity: and among the rest, *Justin*, as appears in divers places of his Books: particularly in his Dialogue with *Tryphon* the Jew; who pressing him after this manner. Tell me truly saith he, do you acknowledge that the City *Jerusalem* shall be built again, and that your people shall be there gathered together, and live in pleasures with Christ, &c. To whom I thus replied, saith he, I am not such a wretch, O *Tryphon*, as to speak otherwise then I think; I have confessed unto thee before, that myself and many others are of the same mind, as ye fully know, it shall be even so: but
withal

withal I have signified unto thee, that some Christians of a pure and pious judgement, do not acknowledge this:—But as for me, and those Christians who are of a right judgement in all things, we do know that there shall be a Resurrection of the Flesh, and a thousand years in *Jerusalem* re-built, beautified and enlarged, as the Prophets *Ezekiel*, *Esay* and others have published.—And afterward that there shall be an Universal and Everlasting Resurrection of all together and a Judgement, as a certain Man of our own, whose name was *John*, one of the Twelve Apostles of Christ, in that Revelation which he had, hath foretold.

2. He entertained a gross Judaical conceit, concerning some of the Angels: of whom he hath these words: That God having made the World, and put the Earth in subjection unto Man:—He committed the care of Men themselves and of the things under the Heavens unto certain Angels whom he had appointed hereunto: but the Angels transgressing the Ordinance of God, were overcome with the company of Women, on whom they begat those Children which are called Dæmons: and moreover they brought the rest of mankind into servitude unto themselves,—and sowed Murthers, Adulteries, Wars, and all kind of wickedness among Men, This error took its rise from an ancient Edition of the Septuagint, which *Philo Judæus*, and *Ensebins* followed: they finding, *Genesis* 6. 1. בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים *filii Dei*, the Sons of God, rendred those words ἄγγελοι τῶ θεῶ. and hence it came to pass, that many of the Antients

Apolog. i.
page 44.

Sixt. Senenf.
Biblioth. lib.
5. annot. 70.

Ancients both Greek and Latin, did so expound that place, whence sprung the error above mentioned.

ἡ ἀπολογία.
Apolog. I.
p. 51.

ἡ ἐπιστολή.

Epit. Hist.
Eccles. Cent.
2. lib. 4. c. 4.

Apolog. 2.
interprete
Gelenio.

3. He attributes too much to the writings of *Plato*, and other Philosophers, saying, that the Doctrines of *Plato* differ not from Christ, but that they are not altogether like: also, whosoever live according to reason, although they have been accounted without God, worshippers of no deity, yet are they Christians: Such among the Greeks were *Socrates*, *Heraclitus* and the like to them. This it seems he delivered, that he might the more easily draw the Gentiles unto the Faith of Christ; faith *Osiander*.

4. He too highly advanceth the power and freedom of Man's Will: whereof he thus speaks. *Ceterum, nequis nostra dicta sic accipiat, quasi fati necessitatem asseramus, & que fiunt ideo fieri, quia predicta sunt; explicabimus hoc quoque. Pœnas ac premia pro dignitate operum cuique reddi verum est, & compertum ex Prophetarum oraculis. Alioquin si fato regerentur omnia, nihil omnino relictum esset in nostrâ potestate: nam si fatali lege alius bonus esset, alius malus: nec laudem ille, nec hic mereretur vituperium: Et nisi homines arbitrato suo possunt turpia fugere, honesta scelerari, extra culpam erunt, quicquid agant. Ceterum quod liberâ voluntate vel peccent vel officium faciant, sic demonstrabimus, &c.*

These things I mention not to discover the nakedness of this venerable Father, but that it may from hence appear that the writings of the holy Prophets and Apostles only are exempt from error and defects, and that those

those of the most eminent men are to be read with caution, to be examined by that Touch stone, and so far only to be approved of, as they shall be found agreeing with that unerring and perfect word, and no further: for by it must we try the Spirits whether they be of God, and proving all things, hold fast that only which it shews to be good.

7. As for his Death or Martyrdom, he was brought unto it by the procurement of one *Crescens* a Cynick Philosopher, with whom he had much contended: Which he himself did before apprehend and expect, as appears from his own words: I look (saith he) by some one of them who are called Philosophers, to be betrayed, or brought to the Stake or Tree: it may be by *Crescens* himself the Philosopher, a lover of popular applause, and of insolent Arrogance: a Man unworthy to be called a Philosopher, because he publickly witnesseth, the things which he knoweth not, as if the Christians were Atheistical, and Impious: which he doth to curry favour with, and to pleasure the multitudes whom he hath deceived.

Apolo. 12
pag. 46.

ξύλα ἢ μπά-
γλῶται.

φιλοκομιαν.

καταμαρτυ-
ρεῖ.

This *Crescens*, he had provoked, and stirred up his implacable malice against him, for that he had in a disputation publickly before the Senate reprehended him not only of being ignorant of those things which it became a Philosopher to know, but also for his foul and debauched manners: Wherefore he accused him to be a Christian, and never

Cent. 3. c. 124

left, till by his restless solicitations he had brought him to his end.

Baron.

So at Rome he joytully suffered Martyrdom for the Name of Christ, under the Emperours *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, Anno *Christi*, 165.

Irenæus

*Irenæus Lugdunensis
Episcopus.*

§ 1. **C** Concerning his birth, where and of what Parents he was born, we have nothing certain; Only probable it is that for Country he was an *Asian*, and that he came of honest and pious parents not far from, if not in the City of *Smyrna*: for there in his youth was he trained up in the School of blessed *Polycarp* a Disciple of the Apostle *John*; and Bishop of *Smyrna*; Of whom it is reported, that being brought before the Proconsul, and by him urged to blaspheme and revile Christ, he thus answered him, Fourscore and six years, saith he, have I served him, neither hath he in any thing ever wronged me; and how can I then revile my King, that hath hitherto preserved me? Also in the same Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna*, it follows concerning him; that being in the fire, which in the form of a vault or sail of a ship, encompassed him about as a wall, his body seemed as gold or silver tried in the furnace; and that from it there proceeded a sweet and fragrant smell, as of frankincense or some such like precious perfume; and that at length, the persecutors perceiving

E 2

that

Cent. 2. c. 10.
Græcus Asi-
anus & fortè
Smyræus
fuit. Possè
apparat.

Euseb. l. 4.
c. 15. in Ep.
Smyrenf.

that the fire consum'd not his body, commanded the tormentour to lance him in the side with a spear; which done, there forthwith issued such a stream of blood out of his body, as quenched the fire to the great admiration of the multitude.

Upon this Reverend Father did *Irenæus* with so great diligence attend, that the Doctrine which he learned from him was deeply ingraven in his breast; so that even to his old age he firmly retained the remembrance of it yea his very gestures: so much he himself testifieth in his Epistle unto *Florinus*, sometime his fellow Scholar, but tainted with that opinion that God was the Author of evil, and afterward with the errour of *Valentinus*: I remember, saith he, the things of old, better than those of later times: for the things we learn in our childhood, sink farther into our minds, and grow up together with us; So that I do well remember, the place where *Polycarp* sate when he taught, his going out and coming in, his manner and course of life, the figure and proportion of his body, the Sermons which he made unto the multitude the relation he gave of his converse with the Apostle *John* and others which saw the Lord; how he remembered their sayings, and what he heard from their mouths touching the Lord, his power, Doctrine, &c. Hence is he not unjustly stiled a man of the Apostolical times, very near unto them, and the successor of them.

Euseb. h. eccl. 24. Hieronym. in Catalog.

Greg. Turonens. l. 1. hist. c. 27.

By *Polycarp* he was sent unto the City of *Lyons* in France, whereby his admirable vo-

tue he soon became famous; in so much that in a small space of time by his preaching he had made almost the whole City Christian. Of this Church he was at first a Presbyter of *Posbinus* (as *Jerom*, *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* call him) or *Photinus*, (as the *Centurists*, *Baronius* and *Gregory of Turon*) who was the first Bishop of that place.

In catalog.
Libr. 5. c. 14.

At this time the Churches of *Asia* being much infested with the New prophesies and delusions of *Montanus*, *Alcibiades* and *Theodotus*; the *Gallicane* Churches (either of their own accord out of their brotherly love to and care of them, or else at their request craving assistance from them against these corrupters of the Gospel) sent *Irenaeus* unto them as the meetest man for such a work, with their letters; that he might comfort those afflicted Churches, confirm them in the truth, and confute those heretical adversaries: He took *Rome* in his way, haply to confer with and crave the advice and help of *Eleutherius* Bishop there, about this affair, unto whom he had letters recommendatory from the Churches making Honourable mention of him.

Cent. 2. c. 10.

During his absence upon this weighty occasion, in the great persecution under *Antoninus Verus* (which much raged in the Churches of *France*) the good Bishop *Photinus* aged ninety years, is imprisoned: and being brought before the tribunal, and by the President asked this question; who is the God of the Christians; he perceiving this demand to be made rather in way of scorn, then out of a serious desire to be informed; because he

Eus. 1. 5. c. 24.

would not cast pearls before swine, vouchsafed him no other answer but this; *si dignus fueris, cognosces*: when thou shalt become worthy, thou shalt know. With which answer, as contumelious, the President being highly provoked, commanded the Officers to beat him; which accordingly they did, handling him in a most barbarous and cruel manner, and afterward, almost breathless, cast him into a filthy prison; wherein about two days after by a glorious death he obtained the crown of Martyrdom.

Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

Baron. ad
an. 180. § 1.

The Church of *Lyon* by this means being destitute of a Bishop, none was thought more worthy to succeed the aged Martyr, then his Presbyter *Ireneus*, who not long after returning, was accordingly chosen and took upon him the Government of that Church.

Fevard. in
vitâ Irenzi.

Cent. 2. c. 10.

He entred upon the administration thereof in a very unquiet and turbulent time; the state of affairs being much distracted, not only by reason of that grievous storm of persecution they had lately been under, yea which was yet scarcely calmed and blown over; but also through the busie attempts of diverse impostours cunningly seeking to undermine the Doctrine of Christ. For now had the *Valentinian* Hereticks prevail'd and spread as far as *France*, and among others bewitched sundry eminent women with their sottish and absurd opinions, by means of one *Marcus* a wretched forcerer, and a wicked deceiver and abuser of the weaker Sex; But in such a manner did this vigilant watchman and painful Pastour bestir himself, that he not only

tably prevented the farther spreading of this Pest, and recovered many of those who had been therewith infected : And having happily secured his own charge, he rested not here, but proceeded farther, affording his help by his excellent letters unto other Churches also ; particularly unto that of *Rome* ; out of which he endeavoured to weed those tares, which the envious man had there sown ; their careless Bishop (how unfit to be an universal overseer !) it seems securely sleeping the while, and leaving the work, that properly belonged to himself unto another. The chief instruments that Satan here employed in sowing those tares ; were *Florinus* and *Blasius* Presbyters of this Church, but by the Bishop degraded for their impiety ; in commiseration of whose sad condition infected with so foul Heresies, he wrote (as is reported) those five learned books now extant.

Theodoret.
heret. fabul.
lib. 1.

In such kind of laborious employments did he spend much of his time, under the Em-
perours *Antoninus*, the whole of *Commodus*, and a good part of *Severus* Reigns : being very serviceable unto the Church of God in his generation, not only by his preaching and disputations, but also by his writings which he left behind him, as singular monuments unto posterity of his zeal for the glory of God, and love to his truth : as a bright shining lamp lighted and set up by the Lord, he diffused his Rayes for the good of many, till the oyl was wholly spent and consumed.

Baron. ad
an. 180.

Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 27. 23.

Cent. 2.

Gallick San-
ctags liber-
tate objur-
gat. Feuard.
in vita ejus.

In his time fell out that sharp and lasting contention between the Eastern and Western Churches, about the observation of the Feast of Easter, as also about the kind and manner of fasting. The Churches of *Asia*, as from an ancient Tradition, and herein following the examples of *Philip* and *John* Apostles, as also of *Polycarp* with others their Successors, observed this Feast on the fourteenth Moon, upon what day of the week soever it fell out, on which day the Jews were to offer their Paschal Lamb. But the Church of *Rome*, together with others in the West, did celebrate it always upon the Lord's day; and hence grew a great rent between them: for those of the East refusing to leave their former usage and custom (for which they had so good a warrant) and to conform themselves herein unto the other: *Victor*, who was the Bishop of *Rome* (possessing that Chair that would afterward usurp authority over all Churches, and acting accordingly) in the height of his pride, and the heat of his passion begins to threaten and thunder out his excommunication against them. Hereupon *Irenaeus* (brooking his name, as a lover of peace) with the Brethren of the Gallican Churches, being grieved at such insolent and harsh proceedings, and foreseeing the sad effects they might produce, thought it their duty not to stand still as idle Spectators, but to interpose at least by their Letters, and to endeavour a prevention (if it might be) of those evils that were like to ensue, and follow upon so rigorous and sharp a censure: which they did accordingly, dealing plainly and roundly with the

the proud Prelate, tartly reprehending him for handling his Brethren in so unchristian a manner; and that for things indifferent (which he made necessary) he would fall upon so extreme a course, the cutting off of so considerable a part from the Body ; shewing withal, that his excommunication was void, and of no force. Now, so great was the authority of the man with the Bishop of Rome (who had not as yet exalted himself so high, that it should not be lawful for any of his Fellow Bishops to take the boldness to admonish him, or to say, what dost thou, though he should lead thousands to Hell) and such the strength of the arguments alledged, that the issue was (as *Feuardentius* relates) the aswaging of his fury, and the deterring of him from that rash attempt of cutting off so many famous Churches from the Body of Christ: whence followed a more serene face of things, and a great tranquillity to the Churches of Christ.

In vita Irenæi.

§ 2. He was a man exceeding eminent, and of chief note among those of his time, very ancient, and not far from the days of the Apostles. Honourable mention is made of him by those of the following ages: for *Eusebius*, *Inter omnes coætaneos ei palmam tribuit*, gives him the preheminance above all his contemporaries: Others stile him an Apostolical man, admirable, and the light of the Western Churches, an ancient man of God; highly commended he is as one in whom the resplendent Beams and brightness of Apostolical Doctrine did gloriously shine forth: for

Vir Apostolicorum
temporum,
& Papiæ, au-
ditoris E-
geliste Joan-
nis discipu-
lus. Hiero-
nym. Epist.
29.
Theodoret.
dialog. 1. &
hæret. fab.
lib. 1.
August. lib.
1. contra
Julian. tom.
7.
Baron. ad
an. 205. j
what § 30.

what he had learned and received from *Polycarp*, and *Polycarp* from the Apostle *John*, he retaining it in its purity, communicated it unto the Church; so that in all things he resembled the face of the Apostles.

Sixt. Senenf.
Biblioth. lib.
lib. 4
Hæres. 32.

He excelled both in piety and learning, being so admirably endued with both, that he was no less famous for the one than for the other: filled therefore by *Epiphanius* a *sacer Irenæus*, holy man, so singularly accomplished and fitted for the work he was designed and called unto, as that he became *præclarum organum*, a choice instrument for the good of the Churches of Christ.

Cent. 2. cap.
10. j

Trithem. de
Script.

Fruard. in
vitâ Iren.

Epist. ante I-
ren.

Cent. 1. lib. d.

Admirably well skilled he was in all sorts of Learning, both sacred and secular; very studious and ready in the Holy Scriptures, having by this means attained unto a more than ordinary measure of understanding and insight into them. And how notably instructed and furnished with knowledge in the Arts and Sciences, is abundantly manifested by his subtil investigation of abstruse Heresies, which, though wonderfully obscure and confused, he representeth and sets forth to publick view with very great perspicuity and order: as also by his most acute and quick disputations, wherein he thoroughly discovers their vanity, and as soundly confuteth them: So that it is most evident (saith *Erasmus*) that he was very exact in all the liberal Sciences. Yea, how diligently he had read over the Books both of the ancient Philosophers, *Thales*, *Anaximander*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Empedocles*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, &c. As also of the Poets, Tragick, Comick and Lyrick,

may

may be gathered from hence, in that he clearly evinceth those Heresies which he impugned, to have been taken and to have had their original from those prophane Authors, the names only being changed. So that he was not without cause stiled by *Tertullian*, *Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem*; a most curious inquirer or searcher into all sorts of Doctrines: very large is *Epiphanius* his Encomium of him (who held him in high esteem, as appears by the great use he made of him) Old *Ireneus* (saith he) every way adorned by the Holy Ghost, brought into the Field by the Lord as a valiant and expert Soldier and Champion, and annointed with Heavenly Gifts and Graces, according to the true faith and knowledge, contended against all the arguments of sottish Hereticks, and most exactly confuted them.

Tertull. advers. Valent.

Epiphani. Hares. 31.

Add hereunto (which put a lustre upon all the rest) that he was of a very meek and modest spirit, a great lover, and as studious a preserver of peace among Brethren; but withal no less earnest and zealous in the cause of God, and a bitter adversary of the wretched Hereticks of his time: *Magnus* (to give you *Erasmus* his words to this purpose) *Ecclesie propugnator, ac pro sui nominis augurio, pacis Ecclesiastice vindex.*

Illyric. in catalog.

Epist. Nuncupat. ante Iren.

§ 3. He wrote divers learned Books upon several subjects and occasions; the greater part whercof (indeed all to one) through the injury and neglect of foregoing ages are quite lost, not any of them remaining and extant at this day: and they are (such as we find mention of.)

Hieronym.
in catalog.
Mixus.
Schol. in ca-
talog. Hiero-
nym.

Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 24.

μεγαλ. imstn-
sur.
Hieronym.
ibid.

Ibid.

Possévin.
apparat.

Cent. 2. cap.
10. in cata-
log.

Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 18.
Hieronym. 7
in catalog.

1. A brief Volume against the Gentiles.
And, saith *Jerom*, another of discipline; but
herein is he mistaken, and those that follow
him, as *Honorius Augustodunensis*, *Trithemius*,
&c. who supposed that they were two distinct
Books; whereas by *Eusebius* it appears 'twas
but one and the same Volume; for thus he
speaks of it: *Extat adhuc liber illius adver-*
sus Gentes compendiosissimus & summo pere-
necessarius, de scientia inscriptus.

2. A declaration of the (manner and way,
Possévin) of the Apostles preaching unto a
certain Brother, one *Marcianus*.

3. A Book intituled διὰ λέξεων διαφώνων,
variorum tractatum, saith *Jerom*, *variarum*
ditionum inquirunt centuriatores, or a disqui-
sition of sundry things. *Possévin*.

4. A Book or an Epistle *de schismate*, un-
to *Blastus*.

5. A Book *de Monarchiâ*, or, that God is
not the author of Sin, unto *Florinus*, whose
Doctrine (he being of this opinion) he
proves to be both impious and blasphemous.

6. A Book entituled *Ogdoas*, or πνευ. το
ὀγδοασών, written also for *Florinus*, who
was bewitched with the errors of *Valentinus*,
which *Jerom* calls *commentarium egregium*,
an excellent commentary: in the close whereof
we have these words, containing a solemn ob-
testation, which both *Eusebius* and *Jerom*
thought worthy of special notice: *Adjuro te*,
&c. I adjure thee (whosoever thou art that
copyest out or transcribest this Book) by our
Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious com-
ing, wherein he shall judge the quick and the
dead, that thou compare what thou hast
written

written, and correct it diligently by the exemplar from whence 'tis transcribed: and also that thou do likewise write out this adjuration, and insert it into the copy so taken. The like hereunto is that of *Ruffinus* in his preface in his Translation of *Origen*, *μετὰ ἀρχῶν*, which is found among the Epistles of *Jerom*, charging both the Transcriber and Reader not to add or diminish, to insert or alter any thing therein, but to be exact even to a Letter, &c.

Tom. 2. Epist. 63.

7. Divers Epistles unto *Victor*, and many other Pastors of Churches about the Controversies of *Easter*; as also against those who at *Rome* did corrupt the sincerity of the Churches.

Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18. & 22.

8. *Volateran* faith, that he wrote an Ecclesiastical History, *quam mutuatus est Eusebius testemq; citat.*

Anthropolog. lib. 16.

9. A Commentary upon the *Apocalypse*, as faith *Sixtus Senensis*. But these two latter are very questionable, seeing that neither *Eusebius*, nor *Jerom* in his Catalogues, nor *Honorius Augustinodunensis*, nor *Trithemius* make mention of any such.

Biblioth. lib. 4.

That of his which to this day the World enjoys, is only a Volume containing five Books against the Heresies of the Gnosticks and Valentinians, which was thus intitled, as both *Eusebius* and *Photius* have it; *ἐλέγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδαγίας γνώσεως*. Of redargution and the eversion of knowledge falsely so called: a learned and most famous piece, full fraught with Learning and Piety. This too, it seems, was almost lost, at least as to the Western Churches; For, (saith *Gregory*

Liber doctissimo & eloquentissimo sermone compositus. Hieronym. Epist. 29.

Lib. 5. cap. 7. Biblioth. 120.

Rivet. crit. fac. Bellarm. catalog. Script.

Registr. lib. 9. Epist. 50.

gory) we have long and diligently made inquiry after the Writings of *Ireneus*, but hitherto not any of them could be found.

Epist. nuncupat. ante
Iren.

Ibid.

Erasmus therefore tells us, he that might well call him his, as being by his industry brought to light (after it had been almost buried) and recovered from the dust, being mouldy and moth-eaten. And should they have remained in perpetual oblivion: the loss had been exceeding great: for (saith he) his writings do breath forth the ancient vigour of the Gospel; yea his very phrase came from a breast prepared for Martyrdom; for the Martyrs have a certain serious, bold and masculine kind of speech.

Bellarmin. in
Catalog. Scrip.

In Epist.
nuncupat. ante
Iren.

It hath been a question, and doubted by some learned men, whether he wrote these Books in the Greek, or Latine Tongue: because they are now not to be found but in the Latin only: yet was he a Greek by Nation, and his phrase favours of that Language, having many Grecisms in it. *Erasmus*, a man of more than ordinary perspicacity and judgement this way, rather inclined to think it written by him in Latin, yet would not peremptorily conclude it: For, saith he, it is not clear to me, whether of the two he wrote in; though I rather suppose that he wrote in Latin, but was more expert in the Greek, and therefore speaking Latin he is bold to make use of Greek figures and forms of speech. But most are of another mind, judging the Greek to have been the Original Language, wherein his Books were written; And that they were afterward translated by himself, saith *Fenardentius*, (to cover over the

In vita Iren.
Rivat. crit.
fac.

the faults of the Translator, which are not a few, or lest the Testimonies alleadged from the translation should lose of their Authority and Weight) or (which is most likely) by some other. All consent in this (saith *Baronius*) that he wrote in Greek; he wrote many excellent Volumes in the Greek Tongue, saith *Sixtus Senensis*: and, saith *Rhenanus*, *proculdubio*, without doubt he wrote in Greek; for else would not *Jeram* have ranked him among the Greek Fathers, nor have made *Tertullian* (as he doth) the third, but the fourth, (as he should) among the Latins. *Pamelius* also thinks that both he and those first Roman Bishops unto his time wrote rather in Greek than Latine, which things considered, it's a wonder that *Erasmus* should herein be of the mind he was: The Latin Copy of *Irenaeus* (saith *Cornelius*) is an exceeding faulty Translation, and may better be restored out of *Epiphanius*, than afford any help in the translating of *Epiphanius*: so that marvellous it is that *Erasmus*, a man otherwise endued with a piercing judgement in things of this Nature, should think that *Irenaeus* did write in Latin. To the same purpose speaks the great *Scaliger*: I do admire (saith he) that from such a feverish Latin Interpreter, as he is whom now we have, *Erasmus* should imagine, both that 'tis the true *Irenaeus*, and that he imitates the Greeks: That Latin Interpreter was most foolish, and either omitted or depraved many things, which he understood nor. The fragments which are extant in *Epiphanius*; also the History of the things done by *Irenaeus* in *Ensebius*, do sufficiently prove

Ad An. 180.
§5. Biblioth.
lib. 4.

In Annotat.
in lib. Ter.
tull. advers.
Valent. also
our learned
Fulke. Irenaeus wrote
in Greek,
and is translated into
Latine by
one that followed very
much the
vulgar Latin Text in
his Preface
to the Epist. dedicat.
ante Tertull.

In Praefat.
ad Epiphani.

In Epist. ad
Thomsonum
num. 239.

prove both that the man was a Grecian, and wrote in Greek : neither is it to be doubted of, &c.

Rivet. crit.
fac.

Chittrus. in
Orat. de
stud. Theo-
log.

Feuard.
commonit.
in 5. ab I-
renæi.

Rivet. crit.
fac.

In præfat.
ante Iren.

In Argu-
ment. lib. 2.

In Epist. ante
Iren.

The Greek Copy therefore written by him-
self is long since perished; only there are some
remains of it to be found scattered in several
Authors, who saw and made use thereof:
Thus we have seven and twenty Chapters of
of his first Book by *Epiphanius* inserted into his
Panarium; (who took a good part of his second
and third Books word for word out of *Ire-
næus*) and some few fragments in *Eusebius*
and *Theodoret*: by comparing of which with
the Translation we now have, it will easily
appear how great a loss the Church sustains
in the want of it: For instead of elegant
Greek, we have nothing else (in the *Irenæus*
now extant) but rude and ill-favoured Latin.
Nor indeed can a Translation, especially out
of Greek into Latin, equal the Original, seeing
that (as *Jerom* speaks) the Latin Tongue re-
ceives not the propriety of the Greek.

The Contents of the five Books of this ex-
cellent Volume (to give you a brief account
of them from *Gryneus*) are these. 1. In the
first he at large sets down the dismal and
diabolical Errors of the Valentinians; to-
gether with a narration of the discords and in-
pieties of those wretched Hereticks: Whose
opinions (saith *Erasmus*) are so horrid, that
the very bringing of them to light, is con-
demnation sufficient: yea the very terms, as well
as the opinions, are so monstrous (saith the same
Author) that it would even turn the stomach
and tire the patience of any one, but to peruse
them over.

2. In the second, he treats of the one Eternal, True, Omnipotent and Omniscient God, besides whom there is none other: And that not any feigned *Demiurgus* or Angels, but this eternal God alone, Father, Son and holy Ghost, did out of nothing produce this whole Fa-
brick, both of Heaven and Earth; and gave being to Angels, Men and all inferiour Crea-
tures; and refuses the Errours of the Gno-
sticks concerning the same; shewing what
they stole from the Philosophers to deceive the
simple withal, and wounding, yea over-
coming them with Weapons or Arguments
fetched out of their own Magazines and Ar-
mory.

3. In the third, which is partly polemical;
and partly exegetical, he discovers and proves
the Hereticks to be foully guilty of that he-
ynous crime of corrupting and curtailling the
sacred Scriptures: and evidently demonstrates
the perpetual consent of the Prophets and
Apostles concerning our Lord Jesus Christ;
God and Man.

4. In the fourth he clearly, and by solid
Arguments proves, that one and the same
God was the Author of both the Testaments,
the Old and the New; and that therein he
hath revealed himself and his Will concerning
the Restitution and Salvatton by Jesus Christ,
of all men that do repent; largely discoursing
of the power of the Will, and of our imper-
fection; and being gotten out of the craggy
and intricate places, he enters into a large
field, explaining many Scriptures depraved
by the Hereticks.

5. In the fifth and last Book having made

a repetition of divers things formerly handled, he comes to confute the vain conceits of the Gnosticks concerning the utter perishing of the bodies of men; and proves that our bodies shall not only be raised by Christ at the last day, but also that the very bodies of the Saints shall enjoy eternal life, and be saved together with their Souls. In the handling whereof he gives a notable experiment (as the diligent Reader may observe) of a clear head, and as of a choice a spirit; whence his weighty arguments sharpened with holy Zeal, do pierce deeply into the very hearts of the Enemies of the Truth, to their shameful prostration, and utter overthrow: for great is the Truth, and will prevail.

He is one of the Ancients, and the only one among those contained in this Decade, that had the good hap not to have his name abused by being prefixed to the Books he never wrote, nor the bastard-brats of others to be father'd upon him.

Cent. 2. cap.
10.

In Proem.
lib. 1.

§ 4. As for his Stile 'tis somewhat obscure and intricate, yea he is oftentimes neglective of his words, and speaks improperly: yet such is the subject he discourseth of, that he will hardly admit of clear and plain expressions: He himself disclaims Eloquence, and dwelling among the *Celte*, a people of a barbarous speech; Look not, saith he, for the art of Oratory, which we have not learned: but what simply, truly and ἰδιωτικῶς in a vulgar manner we have written in Love, in Love receive. Yet understand him of affected Rhetorick, and not that he was altogether ignorant.

ignorant of that art : which could not be, seeing that in a subject so thorny and perplex, his stile is perspicuous, digested and coherent. So that considering the matter he handleth, 'tis no wonder he is so obscure, and that so little art appears, but rather a wonder he is no more so : which proceeded not so much from want of skill in himself, as from the incapacity of the Subject whereof he treateth. A most difficult thing it is (saith the same Author) for him that discusseth things of a subtile Nature, to joyn with perspicuity, the care of polishing his Language.

Erasm. in
Epist. nuncupat.

Erasm. Praefat. ante
Hilarianum.

§ 5. Among many wherewith this Learned Piece is rightly fraught and stored, I shall cull out and present you with a few memorable passages.

1. His Symbol or Creed, containing a brief sum, and confession of the Faith of the Churches of Christ (at least in the West) at that day : his words are these.

The Church, although dispersed through the whole World, even unto the ends of the Earth, received the Faith from the Apostles, and their Disciples ; which is, to believe,

Lib. 1. cap. 2.

In one omnipotent God, which made Heaven and earth and the Seas, and all things that are in them ; and in one Jesus Christ the Son of God, incarnate for our Salvation ; and in the Holy Ghost, who by the Prophets preached the mysteries of the dispensation and coming of Christ, and his Birth of a Virgin, and his Passion, and Resurrection from the dead, and the Assumption of the Beloved

ὁμοεπίστατος.
Dispositi-
ones Dej.
So doth the
Centurists
render it.

ἀντὶ καὶ φεραὶ
ἀσπάζει.

ἰουδθαίαν.

ἀδικῶν καὶ ἀνό-
μων τοῖς αἰν-
αῖς.
τοῖς ἐν μίση-
τοις.
καὶ ἐσάμα-
ντο.

In proem.
lib. 4.

Lib. 3. cap.
20.

Christ Jesus our Lord in his flesh into Heaven, and his coming from Heaven in the Glory of the Father to restore (or recapitulate and gather into one) all things, and to raise the flesh (or bodies) of all mankind, that unto Jesus our Lord, and God and Saviour, and King, according to the good pleasure of the Father invisible, every knee should bow, both of things in Heaven, and in the earth, and under the earth, and that every tongue should confess to him, and that he should pass a righteous sentence or judgment upon all, and send the spiritual wickednesses and the Angels that fell and became apostate, and also ungodly, unrighteous, lawless and blasphemous men into eternal fire : but for the righteous and holy, and such as did keep his commandments, and abide in his love, some from the beginning, and some by repentance gratifying them with life, might bestow on them incorruptibility, and give unto them eternal Glory.

Where observe by the way, that though it may be wondered at, that *Irenæus* should nowhere expressly call the Holy Ghost God, yet that he held him to be God equal with the Father and the Son, is manifest, in that he makes in his Creed the object of faith to be all the three persons of the Trinity alike : As also from hence, that elsewhere he ascribes the creation of man unto the Holy Ghost, as well as to the Father and the Son.

2. He gives the reason why the Mediator between God and man, ought to be both God and man : For, saith he, if man had not overcome the enemy of man, he had not been justly

justly overcome: again, unless God had given salvation, we should not have had it firmly; and unless man had been joyned unto our God, he (*viz.* Man) could not have been made partaker of incorruptibility. For it became the Mediator of God and Men, by his nearness unto both, to reduce both into friendship and concord; and to procure that God should assume Man (or take him into communion) and that man should give up himself unto God. Domestici-
tatem.

3. The whole Scriptures, both Prophetical and Evangelical (are) open or manifest, and without ambiguity; and may likewise be heard of all. Again, we ought to believe God, who also hath made us; most assuredly knowing, that the Scriptures are indeed perfect, as being spoken (or dictated) by the word of God and his Spirit. Lib. 2. cap. 46.
Lib. 2. cap. 47.

4. *Fides, que est ad deum, justificat hominem*, Faith towards God (*πίστις ἐπὶ Θεῷ*, Heb. 6.2.) justifieth a man. Lib. 4. cap. 13.

5. Concerning the marks of the true Church, and that it is not tied to one place or succession; he thus speaks, When once the Gospel was spread throughout the world, and the Church gathered out of all Nations, then was the Church no where tied to one place, or to any certain and ordinary succession; but there was the true Church where-soever the uncorrupted voice of the Gospel did sound, and the Sacraments were rightly administered according to the Institution of Christ. Also, that the pillar and ground of the Church is the Gospel and Spirit of Life. Lib. 3. 11.

5. Of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy

Lib. 2. cap.
59.

Dicicnes.

2009.

Ghost, continuing unto his time, thus, Some (saith he) cast out Devils soundly and truly; so that oftentimes even they who were cleansed from wicked Spirits do believe, and are in the Church: others have the foreknowledge of things to come, and also propheticall Visions and Sayings: others do cure and restore to health such as labour of some infirmity by the laying on of their hands. Moreover, as we have said, the dead also have been raised and continued with us many years: And what shall I say? the Graces are not to be numbred, which throughout the whole world the Church receiving from God, doth dispose in the name of Christ Jesus (crucified under *Pontius Pilate*) every day for the help of the Nations, neither seducing any one, nor taking money from him. For as it hath freely received from God, so also doth it freely administer: nor doth it accomplish any thing by Angelical Invocations, nor incantations, nor any wicked curiosity, but purely and manifestly directing their prayers unto the Lord, who hath made all things.

Lib. 5. pag.
613. cap. 28.
Feuardent.
edit.

Estenim dies
Domini.

6. He plainly asserts that the world shall continue but six thousand years: For, saith he, look in how many days this world was made, in so many thousand years it shall be consummate. Therefore 'tis said in *Gen. 2.2.* *On the sixth day God finished all his works, and rested the seventh day.* Now this is both a narration of what was done before, and also a prophecy of things to come: for one day with the Lord is as a thousand years: in six days the things were finished that were made; and it is manifest that the six thousandth year is the consummation of them.

7. He

7. He finds the number of the Beasts name, viz. 666. in the word ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ: whence he concludes it as very probable that the seat of that beast is the Latin or Roman Kingdom. Take his own words. *Sed & Lateinos nomen (habet) sexcentorum sexaginta sex numerum; & valde verisimile est quoniam novissimum (verissimum. Erasmi. edit.) Regnum hoc habet vocabulum. Latini enim sunt qui nunc regnant: Sed non in hoc nos gloriabimur.*

Irenæus antiquissimus theologus hoc nomen tanquam valde consentaneum huic mysterio divinæ sagacitate indagavit. Paræus Comment. in Apoc. 13. 18 lib. 5. ca. 30. Edit. Feuillet.

8. Of the four Evangelists he thus writeth: *Mathew* (saith he) delivered unto the Hebrews the History of the Gospel in their own Tongue. When *Peter* and *Paul* preached at Rome, and planted that Church, after their departure. *Mark* the Disciple and also Interpreter of *Peter*, delivered unto us in writing such things as he had heard *Peter* preach. And *Luke* the companion of *Paul* comprised in one Volume the Gospel preached of him. After these *John* the Disciple of our Lord, who also leaned on his breast, published a Gospel, remaining at *Ephesus* in *Asia*.

lib. 3. cap. 1.

9. When the Hereticks, saith he, are convinced from the Scriptures, they betake them to the accusation of the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not right, nor of any Authority, and because they are variously spoken, and because from them the truth cannot be found out, by them that know not Tradition.

lib. 3. cap. 2.

verba sunt dicta

1. We ought to obey them that are Presbyters in the Church, even those who have succession from the Apostles, as we have shewn, who together with the succession of

lib. 4. ca. 43.

Charisma.

their Bishoprick, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the pleasure of the Father.—Succession of Doctrine is the principal, and without that certain gift of truth, it is vain yea impious to boast of personal succession.

lib. 3. ca. 25.

M^o C^o.

11. Of the Translation of the Septuagint, thus. *Ptolemy* willing to have an experiment of them, and fearing lest perhaps by consent they should through their interpretation hide that truth which was in the Scriptures: he separating them one from another, commanded them all to interpret the same Scripture, and this he did in all the Books: when therefore they come together into one place with *Ptolemy*, and compared their Interpretations, God was glorified, and the Scriptures were believed to be truly divine, all of them reciting the same, both in the same phrases and in the same words from the beginning to the end: So that even the Gentiles that were present did acknowledge that the Scriptures were Interpreted by the Inspiration of God.

Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23.

in diacoria

que vocatur

per quodam

que mone

quidam C^o.

Divini sentis

verba no-

tanda. Ca-

saub. exerci-

tat. 13. p.

335.

12. Very memorable is that passage of his in an Epistle unto *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, recorded by *Eusebius*. Although saith he, Christians differed in their Judgements about the manner of Fasting, yet notwithstanding were they at unity one with another, for this variety of fasting commendeth the unity of Faith.

They that were Presbyters before *Soter* of that Church, whereof now thou art President, *Anicetus*, I mean, and *Pius*, and *Hyginus*, and *Telesphorus*, and *Xystus*, neither did so ob-

serve

serve it themselves, nor left any such Commandment to their posterity, and yet nevertheless they (not observing it) were at unity with them, who resorted unto them, from those Churches that did observe the same, when yet their observance was contrary to those who observe it not. Neither was any one at any time rejected, (or excommunicated) for such kind of fasting: but those very Presbyters who were thy predecessors, have sent the Eucharist to the Brethren of those Churches who kept it after their own manner. And when *Polycarp* was at *Rome* in the time of *Anicetus*, and they were at variance among themselves about some certain small and trifling matters, they were soon reconciled; but about this particular they had no contention at all. Neither was *Anicetus* able to persuade *Polycarp* (mark, the Roman Bishops used not, it seems, to command then as now) that he should not retain that which he had always observed with *John* the Disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the Apostles with whom he had been conversant: neither did *Polycarp* persuade *Anicetus* so to observe it, but told him he ought to observe the Ancient Custom of the Elders, whom he succeeded? And things being at this pass, they held communion one with another: and in the Church *Anicetus* granted the Eucharist unto *Polycarp* for the reverence which he bare him; and so they parted from each other in peace, and in the Universal Church, both those that did observe it and those that did not observe it, were at peace one with another.

These and many other the like worthy sayings

ings are to be found in the Books of this Ancient Father, but let it suffice to have given you this taste of them.

§ 6. Yet are there some things observed in him as his blemishes and failings, wherein he is not to be followed, because therein he swerves from that un-erring Rule the word of Truth. Even the most eminent Men in the Church, (after the Apostles) have built some hay and stubble upon the foundation they held, which will not endure the trial of the Fire: Those of this Father are as followeth.

lib. 2. ca. 49.

1. Somewhat harsh and to be corrected, is that concerning Christ. *Si quis exquirat causam propter quam in omnibus Pater communicans Filio solus scire & horam & diem Domini manifestatus est, neque aptabilem magis neque decentiorem, nec sine periculo alteram quam hanc inveniat in presenti: quoniam cum solus verax Magister est Dominus, ut discamus per ipsum, super omnia esse Patrem. Etenim Pater, ait major me est, & secundem agnitionem itaque prepositus esse Pater annunciatum est à Domino Nostro, ad hoc, ut & nos, in quantum figura hujus mundi sumus, perfectam Scientiam & talis questiones concedamus Deo: Et ne forte querentes altitudinem Patris investigare, in tantum periculum incidamus, uti quæramus, an super Deum aliter sit Deus.*

2. He hath some passages concerning free will, not to be admitted, though again in other places he hath somewhat directly opposite thereunto. E. g. *Dedit deus bonum, & qui operantur quidem illud, & gloriam & honorem perci-*

percipient, quoniam operati sunt bonum, cum possint non operari illud. Hi autem qui illud non operantur, judicium justum recipient Dei, quoniam non sunt operati bonum, cum possint operari illud. Item. Quoniam omnes sunt ejusdem naturæ, & potentes retinere & operari bonum & potentes rursus amittere id, & non facere; justè etiam apud homines sensatos, quanto magis apud Deum, alii quidem laudantur, & dignum percipiunt testimonium electiõnis bonæ & perseverantiæ: alii verò accusantur, & dignum percipiunt damnum, eò quòd justum & bonum reprobaverint. Adhuc: Quoniam libera sententiæ est Deus, ejus ad similitudinem factus est, semper consilium datur ei, continere bonum, quod proficiscitur ex eâ quæ est ad Deum obedientiâ: Et non tantum in operibus, sed etiam in fide liberum & suæ potestatis arbitrium homini servavit Dominus.

lib.4. ca.71.

lib.4. ca.72.

Ibid.

Contrà. Dominus pollicitus est mittere se paracletum, qui nos aptaret Deo. Sicut enim de arido tritico massa una fieri non potest sine humore, neque unus panis: Ita nec nos multi unum fieri in Christo Jesu poteramus, sine aquâ, quæ de celo est. Et sicut arida terra, si non percipiat humorem, non fructificat: sic & nos lignum aridum existentes primum nunquam fructificaremur vitam, sine supernâ voluntariâ pluvîâ. i. e. Spiritu Sancto.

lib.3. ca.19.

3. His opinion concerning the Age of Christ, is evidently contrary to what may be collected from the History of the Evangelists, for thus saith he: Omnes venit per seipsum salvare, omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes, & parvulos, & pueros, & juvenes & Seniores. Idèò per omnem

lib.2. ca.39.

nem

nem venit etatem, & infantibus infans solus, sanctificans infantes: in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes etatem, simul & exemplum illis pietatis effectus, & justitie & subjectionis. Juvenibus juvenis, exemplum juvenibus fient, & sanctificans Domino. Sic & senior in senioribus, ut sit perfectus Magister in omnibus, non solum secundum expositionem veritatis, sed secundum etatem sanctificans simul & seniores, exemplum ipsis quoque fient, &c. —

Ibid.

Quia autem triginta annorum etate prima indolis est juvenis, & extenditur usque ad quadragimum annum, omnis quilibet constituitur, a quadagesimo aut quinquagesimo anno declinat jam in etatem seniore, quam habens Dominus noster docebat, sicut Evangelium & omnes seniores testantur, qui in Asia apud Joannem Discipulum Domini convenerunt, id ipsum tradidisse eis Joannem: permansit autem cum eis usque ad Trajani tempora. Quidam autem eorum non solum Joannem, sed & alios Apostolos viderunt, & hec eadem ab ipso audierunt, & testantur de hujusmodi relatione. Non multum aberat a quinquaginta annis, & ideo dicebant ei, quinquaginta annorum nondum es, & Abraham vidisti? Jo. 8. 57.

lib. 2. ca. 40.

In catalog.
Papias,

4. Jerom and others ascribe unto him the error of the Chiliafts or Millenaries, though it be not to be found so expressly in his writings now extant.

All which the impudent Fryar Feuardenius (glad to take, yea to make an occasion, that he might fall foul upon the Lutheran and Calvinian Hereticks, as he calls them) labours after a sort to defend him in, as if they were meer calumnies and causeless criminations:

Although

Although some chief ones of his own Catho-
lick faction; to wit, *Baronius* and *Possevine*, as
also *Erasmus*, charge him, with the same as
well as others: and who so lists to peruse his
books shall find they had just cause so to do.
But the Antidotes (as he calls his defence
prefixed to his Edition of *Irenæus*) of such
Mountebanks are no better then poyson; and,
saith the learned *Rivet*, I would admonish
young Students to beware of the Edition of
this shameless and faithless Monk, as being in
many things corrupted, and defiled with his
impious and lying Annotations.

In argum. in
lib. Irenæi.

Crit. fac.

Besides these there are some other things
and expressions which fell from the Pen of
this worthy Man, that do need the friendly
and favourable construction of his Reader:
among the rest, is that passage. *lib. 3. cap. 21.*
Propter hoc verbum Dei homo, & qui filius Dei
est, filius hominis factus est, Commixtus verbo
Dei, ut adoptionem percipiens fiat filius Dei.
Also that, *lib. 5. cap. 26.* *Benè Justinus dixit,*
quoniam ante Domini adventum, nunquam au-
sus est Satanæ blasphemare Deum, quippe nondum
sciens suam damnationem. Also that, *lib. 4.*
cap. 30. *Henoch sine circumcisione placens Deo,*
cum esset homo, Dei legatione ad Angelos fun-
gebatur, & translatus est, & conservatur usque
nunc testis justi judicii Dei, quoniam Angeli
transgressi deciderunt in judicium, homo autem,
placens, translatus est in salutem. Lastly that,
lib. 5. *Discipulorum animæ abibunt in invisi-*
bilem locum, definitum eis a Deo, & ibi usque ad
resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes re-
surrectionem; post recipientes corpora & perfectè
resurgentes, hoc est, corporaliter, quemadmodum

& Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei. These and such like, do crave the candour and indulgence of the judicious Reader.

Commentar.
stat. 6. c. 11.
Hist. lib. 1. c.
27. ad an.
205. § 28.

§ 7. As touching his Death and Martyrdom; *Ado* Bishop of *Vienna*, *Gregory* Bishop of *Turon*, and *Baronius* do report, that in the persecution under the Emperour *Severus*, which raged especially about *Lyons*, by the command of the Emperour, the said City was invironed with Soldiers, who slew with the Sword all the Christians that were found therein, the chief of whom was this *Irenaeus* their Bishop, who with the rest received the glorious Crown of Martyrdom: At what time the slaughter was so great, (saith *Gregory Turonens.*) that the very streets ran with blood.

Ad an. 196.
§ 22.

In what year this hapned Historians record, not only *Baronius* conjectures that the persecution of the Christians under *Severus* began not until the tenth year of his Reign; and that one of the first places wherein he exercised his cruelty, was this City; of whose constancy he had had such experience; that he knew neither threats nor flatteries would make the Church there under such a Prelate to bend or yield, and therefore determined to destroy them by the Sword. He therefore

Baron. ad
an. 205. §
28.

refers the Martyrdom of *Irenaeus* Ad. an. Dom. 205. *Severi*. 11.

Clemens

Clemens Alexandrinus.

§ 1. **H**E Stiles himself *Titus Flavius Clemens*: for with this inscription were his books of *Stromes* extant in *Eusebius* his time: and so also had *Photius* found in a very old Copy, as he saith, those books of his Entituled.

Lib. 6 c. 18.
Biblioth.
num. 117.

What country man he was by birth is somewhat uncertain: only it is conjectured that he was born in *Athens*, that City so much famed for Learning throughout the world; where was the first Academy, or Schools of Learning known by that name, which since is become the common appellation of places of that nature. *Academiae nomen Athenis primum inclaruisse apud omnes ferme authores convenit, inquit Junius. Epiphanius* therefore speaking of him: some, saith he, call him *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, others of *Athens*; this latter being the place of his birth, as the former of his breeding and most abode: and as in the one he drew his first breath, so in the other having spent the most of it, he breathed out his last.

Cent. 3. c. 10.
Patria fuit
Atheniensis.
Baro. ad an.
196. § 22.
Communis
quidam In-
stitutionis &
eruditionis
officina.
Diodor. Si-
cul. biblioth.
lib. 13.
Lib. de Aca-
dem. c. 1.
hæres. 32.
Nobilissi-
mum orbis
terrarum
gymnasium.
Cicero. in
epist. famil.
1. 4. Ep. 12.

Being exceedingly desirous of learning and knowledge, he spent his first time of study
in

in Greece; from whence going Eastward, he came into *Palestine*, and lastly from thence into *Egypt*, settling in the famous School of *Alexandria*, wherein he continued the remainder of his time, either as a Scholar in learning, or as a Doctor in teaching: Whence he got that name by which to this day he is commonly call'd and known, viz. of *Clemens*, not the *Athenian*, but the *Alexandrian*.

Baron. ad.
an. 169. § 23.

Hieronym.
in Catalog.
Rhenan. in
Tertul. lib.
De peni-
tent. ex Eu-
seb. l. 6. c. 5.

Epist. 24.

Cent. 2. c. 10.

Of these
Schools. see
Hospin. de
orig. tem-
plor. cap. 5.

In this place he was first an Auditour of *Pantenus*, (when or how he was converted to Christianity is uncertain,) a man very eminent both for his life and learning and this both Sacred and Secular; who being at first a Philosopher of the Sect of the Stoicks, and afterward converted unto Christianity, was the first after the Apostles who there exercised the Office of Magister *καὶ διδάσκαλος*, or instructor of the Catechumens, and Governour of the School or Academy, Doctor *Audientium* (as *Cyprian* calls this Officer) the Catechist; unto which function he was called by *Demetrius*, the then Bishop of that place: whose work it was to open and Interpret the Scriptures, to instruct the Catechumens or young believers in the grounds and principles of Christianity, and to refute *Ethnick* and heretical opinions; which they used to do not in Sermons and Homelies, but in a Scholastical manner: their Auditors being not only such as were newly converted from heathenism, but also the children of believers grown up to years of understanding, specially such as were intended for Ecclesiastical employments:

Accord-

Accordingly not only were the principles of Religion taught, and the Sacred Scriptures expounded in these Christian Schools, (whereof this at *Alexandria* is conceived to have been the first and most famous: being founded by *Mark* the Evangelist, who planted the first Church in that City) but those who were trained up in them did also apply themselves to the study of the liberal arts and languages: in which regard *Alexandria* is by *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Oration in the praise of *Cæsarius*, called *παιδείας παῖς ὡς ἐργαστήριον* the shop of all kind of learning. Of these Schools *Duarenus* gives us this account: *Fuerunt, inquit, antiquitus Ecclesiastica scholæ, ad clericorum & aliorum egentium eruditionem institutæ: quibus scholis præficiebantur magistri qui non literas modo sacras, sed Grammaticam etiam & liberales disciplinas docerent. Erat igitur hoc munus a pastoris officio distinctum & separatum.* Hence it is conceived our Universities took their Original in this Town (*viz. Alexandria*) *Gautenus*, (saith *Heylin*) (he should have said, *Pantenus*) read Divinity and Philosophy, *An. 180.* from whom it is thought, that the Orders of instituting Universities first began in *Christendom*. Thus did the Ancients deem the liberal Arts to be of great use, and very requisite to the preservation of the purity of Religion; for which end *Origen* exhorted his Scholars to the diligent study of them, affirming them to be very needful both for disputations, and also the explication of the Sacred Scriptures: And it is evident that the most famous Fathers of the Church did much excel therein,

Cent. 3 c. 7.
Hospin. ibid.
Cent. 1. l. 2.
cap. 3.

Orat. 24.

De beneficio
lib. 1. c. 15.

Geograph.

Cent. 3. c. 16

being richly furnished with the knowledg of them.

Hieronym.
in Catalog.
Magister il-
lius Ecclesi.
Ruffin, in
Apolog. pro
Origine.
Baron. ad
an. 196. § 23.

Clemens having here spent some time in these kind of studies with great proficiency, was at length made Presbyter of this Church; and after a while; *Pantenus* dying, he was esteemed worthy to succeed him in the Office of Doctor or Moderator of that School; in which employment he continued long, even unto the end of his days, managing it with much industry and prudence to the great benefit and advantage of those that attended upon him, and gaining general applause and approbation.

§ 2. He was a man of admirable and choice endowments of nature, of an acute wit, & most tenacious memory, which he imployed and improved to the uttermost, sparing neither industry nor travail for the attaining of learning and knowledge, which he was very greatly desirous, yea greedy of; for which cause he betook him to the Schools of those men in divers provinces and countries, who were most eminent and famous, drawing from them what he found to be best, and might most advantage him in that which he sought for. Nor did he attend only upon the living, but also applied himself unto and consulted with the dead, diligently and judiciously perusing the Monuments of men learned in every kind that went before him: as well Heathen (Poets, Philosophers, Historians, whether Greeks or Barbarians) as Christian; as his works full stuf with multiplicity of Authors and variety of reading do amply te-

Hieronym.
in Catalog.

stific.

life. By this means did he attain unto a great height and more then Ordinary measure of learning, both Divine and Humane; so that in all Antiquity he was accounted *Vir celeberrimus*, most renowned; *Clarissimus horum temporum Ecclesiasticus tractator*; and in the judgment of *Jerom* (than which what more accurate?) the most Learned of all the Ancients: in whose books, saith he, what is there to be found unlearned? yea, what not extracted out of the very bowels of Philosophy? they are full fraught with Learning and Eloquence. Hence he is adorned by others with the titles of an egregious, most Learned and most eloquent man; an holy man, & who exceeds all others in his skill and cunning in many things, of notable and almost incredible knowledge (saith *Gentian Hervet*, in *Epist. ante Pedagogum*) in whom it so abounds, that he cannot be drawn dry, briefly he is, saith *Heinsius*, *penu eruditionis & scientie*, a full store-house and plentiful magazine of Learning and knowledge; so that *Cyrl* (who was afterward Bishop of the same City, where our *Clement* was Presbyter and Professor) calls him, ἐλόγιμος καὶ πολὺς λόγος, an eloquent man, endued with multiplicity of knowledge, one that dived so far into the writings of the Greeks, as few of those had done, who went before him.

His piety and zeal for the honour of God and the advancement of Christian Religion, were no less than his Learning; being a devout, and holy Man: For he was serviceable not only to the Church of *Alexandria* (whereunto he stood in special relation) but went

Chemnit.
examen.
par. 1. Baro.
ad. an. 198.
§ 22.
Ep. 84. Mag.
Idem. in
Catalog.
Trithem. de
script.
Bergoma.
supplem.
chron. Nicet.
Coniat. Or.
thodox. l. 3.
cap. 10.

Casaub. exerc.
citat. 1.
In prefat.
ad annotat.
in Clem.
Contra Iul.
an. l. 10.

Cent. 2. c. 70;
Trithem. de-
script. Euseb.
l. 6. c. 13.

Hieronym.
in Catalog.

from thence unto the Churches of *Jerusalem* and *Antioch*, who, by his preaching among them, were not a little advantaged, some being edified and confirmed in the Faith of Christ, and others recovered from their errors, who had been seduced by false teachers. Somewhat this way sounds the testimony concerning him of *Alexander* at that time Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in his congratulatory Epistle unto the Church of *Antioch*: These lines, saith he, I send unto you by *Clement* the blessed Presbyter, whom ye also know, and shall now more fully recognize; who coming hither by the providence and visitation of God, hath confirmed and increased the Church of the Lord. Thus as a faithful servant and steward, did he diligently lay out, and imploy the talents that he had received, for the advantage of his Lord and Master, who had intrusted him with them.

Lib. 4. c. 33.

He likewise greatly improved both the Learning and Life of his Master *Pantenus*, (who was a pious and a prudent man) receiving from him not only instructions as a Doctor, for his information, but also an example and pattern, as a president, for his imitation, for (saith *Nicephorus*) as he succeeded him in his place and imployment, so did he also tread in his steps, and observed the same manner and method both in his life and lectures.

§. 3. He was exceeding useful unto the Church of Christ as well by his pen, as by his preaching: for being a man of singular and more than ordinary abilities he wrote di-
vers

vers books, wherein he transmitted unto posterity the doctrines which he had received and taught, and vigorously asserted and maintained the truth against the adversaries and opposers of it. Of which writings many are lost through the injury of time and neglect of succeeding ages; and some are remaining unto this day.

Of the first sort, are such as these, by *Jerom* and *Eusebius*;

1. *A Commentary de Paschate*: which, faith *Eusebius*, he composed at the instance of some friends who earnestly desired that he would commit to writing for the benefit of posterity, those things which he had heard and received from the Ancient Presbyters. In which book he remembers *Melito*, *Irenaeus*, and certain others whose expositions he inserts and makes use of. In Catalog. Lib. 6. c. 12.

2. A book thus intituled, *Quis dives salvetur*. So *Eusebius*; or as *Jerom*; *Quisnam dives ille sit, qui salvetur*. A Treatise Learnedly composed, faith *Nicephorus*, and worthy to be perused: whence, faith *Possesine*, *Eusebius* took that famous story of the Young man, by the Apostle *John* recommended to the care of a certain Bishop; who afterward became very debauched and gave himself to all kind of vice, but was again by the same Apostle in an admirable manner recalled and recovered: who so list may read this story at large in *Eusebius*, lib. 3. cap. 21. Lib. 4. c. 33. Apparat.

3. His disputations of Fasting: which (as also the following) *Nicephorus* calls Homilies. *Honorius Augustodunensis* divides the title; but amiss: setting down as two distinct Ibid.

Honor.
August. de
Script.
Eccle. cap.
39.

distinct Books, *De Jejunio unus* : *De Disceptatione unus* : contrary to *Jerome*, whose catalogue (with some others he epitomized :) *Tribemius* also is guilty of the same error.

4. *De Obsecratione*, or of *slander*.

5. An exhortatory unto patience, composed for such as were newly baptized.

De Script.
Eccle. Cent.
2. cap. 10.

6. Of the Canons of the Church, or an Ecclesiastical Canon, and against those who follow the error of the Jews ; which Book, *προςεφώνησε*, he peculiarly dedicated it unto *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem* : *Tribemius* and the Centurists make these two distinct Books, wherein they may be presumed to be mistaken, seeing herein they differ from *Eusebius* and *Jerom* : the latter of the two the Centurists entitle thus : Of those who in the Scriptures follow the sense of the Jews.

Cent. ibid.
Sixt. Senens.
lib. 4.

Photius in
Biblioth.
Numb. III.

Cent. ibid.
Nicephor.
lib. 4. cap. 33.
E. mendit. in
Clement.

7. *ὑποτυπώσεων*, Eight Books of Dispositions, Informations or Institutions : (fetching the name haply from 2 *Tim.* 1. 13. *ὑποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑλακινόντων λόγων*) wherein he goeth over the whole body of the Scriptures in a brief Commentary or compendious explanation of them, if not rather some special places of both Testaments, the scope of the whole work seeming to be an interpretation of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, the *Psalms*, the *Epistles of Paul*, and those called *Catholical*, and lastly of the Book called *Ecclesiasticus* : yea, he omits not some of those that are *Apocryphal*, altogether and generally rejected, *viz.* the *Revelation* under the name of *Peter*, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. *Heinsius* gives us this account of them : These Books (saith he) as the *Inscription* teacheth us, did contain an
institu-

institution or delineation of the Doctrine of Christianity; not so much methodical, dogmatical and artificial, as free and bound up or restrained by no rules; for he interpreted divers places of the Sacred Scriptures, out of which without doubt he gathered a Body of Doctrine. The want of these Books cannot be accounted any great loss, if the report of *Photius* concerning them be a truth: For (saith he) although in some things he seems to be Orthodox and sound in his judgment, yet in others he discourseth altogether fabulously and impiously: as in asserting the matter whereof the world was made to be eternal, in ranking Christ among the number of things created, in mentioning with allowance and approbation the Pythagorean *μετεμψύχωσις*, or *transmigration of Souls*; and that many worlds were before *Adam*, that the word was not truly made flesh, but only seemed so to be, together with very many such like passages, withal adding (as admiring and amazed that such an one as *Clement* should be the author of them) all which, either he himself, or else some other under his name blasphemously uttereth, which latter (saith *Andrew Scotus* and *Possévine*) is the more likely; for the *Arrians* had corrupted his writings, as *Ruffine* reporteth in his *Apology for Origen*; and the Doctrine contained in his other Books is more sound and orthodox.

In Biblioth.
num. 19.

In edit.
Clement. in
not. ad mar.
in apparat.

Photius.
Biblioth.
num. 110.
Cent. cap. 19.

Besides these, there is elsewhere mention of the following Treatises.

8. Of the Resurrection.
9. Of Continence.

10. Of Marriage: of these three he him-

self speaks in his Books of Stromes; and particularly of the last in his *Pedagogus*, lib. 3. cap. 8. where we have a summary of the contents of it, viz. how the Wife ought to live with her Husband, of the Administration of the Government of the Family, the use of Servants, and what things ought to be done by her apart, of the time of Marriage, and of those things which appertain to women.

Lib. 1. cap. 7.

11. *Sozomen* saith that he compiled an History: and indeed *Suidas* makes mention of one *Clemens ἱστορικὸς*, the Historian, who wrote of the Roman Kings and Emperours: but *Baronius* supposeth they meant not this but another *Clement*; and the truth is they both speak of a *Clement* indefinitely, without any addition of the Alexandrian, or otherwise.

Trithem. de
Script.
Euseb. lib. 6,
cap. 12.

12. Many Epistles.

Biblioth. lib.
4.

13. He also promised a Commentary upon *Genesis*, which accordingly he clearly and entirely performed upon the whole Book, as some do affirm, whom herein (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) I will neither give credit unto, nor gainsay.

Of the second sort of his Books, viz. those remaining and commonly received at this day, are only the three following.

In catalog.

1. Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἑθνικοὺς, his admonition or exhortation unto the Gentiles, *adversus Gentes, liber unus*, saith *Jerom.*

2. Παιδαγωγός, his Schoolmaster, comprised in three Books.

Nicenhor.
lib. 4. cap. 33.

3. Στεφανῶν, Eight Books of Stromes, a work variously woven after the manner of Tapestry, mixed with testimonies taken out of the Sacred Scriptures, as also Poets, Philosophers and Historians, whence he got the name

name of *στρωματίδης*, contextor, or the Weaver. He himself gives the reason of the name, and why these Books were so entitled by him: *Est in exiguo quidem spacio (inquit) multa genitalis copia semine eorum dogmatum quæ comprehenduntur in hoc opere, tanquam ager omnibus herbis plenus. Unde etiam propriam habent inscriptionem stromata commentariorum, &c.* Again, *Permixtim nobis instar prati variata est stromatum descriptio: ἀναμύξην τῶν στρωματέων ἡμῶν ὑπετύπωσις, λιμῶν ὁ δίκην πεποικιλταί.* Of its proper and primitive signification the most learned *Casaubon* gives us this account; *Solitos veteres stragulam vestem pellibus involvere, & loris constringere, etiam Jurisconsulti testes sunt——Constat autem ex veterum lectione, & stragula superiora, & involucrum istud, quod antiquiores στρωματῶδεσμον, recentiores στρωματέϊς vocarunt, variis coloribus distincta fere fuisse. Inde translatae dictiones ad res significandas varietate insignes: cujusmodi fuit piscis στρωματίδης dictus ob coloris aurei virgas per totum illius corpus productas, inquit *Atheneus*, lib.7. Similiter & viri docti excerpta sua ex variis auctoribus, aut propria etiam scripta, sed veterum referta testimoniis, soliti στρωματῶδεσμα vel στρωματέϊς appellare, ut *Clement Alexandrinus*, &c. Those Books and Commentaries (saith *Martianus Victorinus*) men call *Stromata*, which contain in them variety of matter, because Carpets and Garments of this, compounded of divers colours and Histories, were so interwoven. The name *στρωματέϊς* (saith *Erasmus*) is taken from pictured Carpets or Tapestry. Also *Sixtus Senensis* thus; a Rapsody, which*

Strom. lib.4;

Strom. lib.6.

*In Animad-
vers. in A-
thenzum.
lib.1. cap.4.*

*Schol. in Hi-
eronym. E-
pist. 65.*

*In vitâ Ori-
gen. bibli-
oth. lib 3.*

which some call *Stroma*, or a *stromatical exposition*, is an exposition made up of a composition out of divers Authors. And in very deed such are *Clemens* his Commentaries or Stromes, which contain so great and innumerable riches of all kind of Learning (saith *Gentian Heroet*) that there is no one who is endued with any Arts and Sciences, but may receive from him exceeding great profit. Yea (saith the learned *Daille*) what can you name more mixed and fuller of variety than *Clemens* his *Stromata*, as he calls them, and his other works; which are throughout interlaced with Historical Allusions, Opinions, Sentences and Proverbs out of all sorts of Writers, both sacred and profane, being here heightened with rich lightsome colours, there shaded with darkness, in such sort as that it is a vain thing for an ignorant person to hope ever to reach his meaning? For which cause *Casaubon* quoting a passage of these Books, doth it after this manner: *Sic ait Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. 7. σεμνότερον, centonum*, which we may well call *varias lectiones*.

The excellency and usefulness of all three, is thus fully and at large set forth by *Gentian Heroet*, who among others translated them into Latine. Of how great utility (saith he) this ancient Father may be, doth from hence evidently appear: Are there some that are delighted with the most ancient Histories? Let them read *Clement*, who retained them all so exactly, that none of these things which were done throughout the world, seem to have escaped his knowledge. Are there who reverence the Verses of the old Poets, and

In Epist. ante Strom.

Treat. of the right use of the Fathers. lib. 1.

Exercitat. r. ad apparat. Annal. Baron.

In Epist. ante opera Clem.

and certain divine answers of the Oracles? These must needs have *Clement* in very high esteem, who citeth the testimonies of very many Poets, whose works are at this day utterly lost and perished. Are there, who would fain know and acquaint themselves with the ancient Rites and Ceremonies observed in or about the sacrifices of the Gods? Let such betake them unto *Clement*, who so unfolds all those abominable mysteries, that if any one among Christians do yet praise and admire those old Heathenish Ordinances and Customs (and would to God there were none that did so) he will forthwith (unless he be more stupid than a stone) upon the reading of *Clement* cast away every fond opinion of those false Gods, and must needs be ashamed of the madness of those who aforetime did worship them. Would any know the decrees or opinions of the old Philosophers? Let them view *Clement*, who so delivers and describes the original of all Philosophy, together with the several Sects, Successions and Maxims of all Philosophers; that seeing a man so singularly learned hath preferred Christian Philosophy (or Religion) before all other; they will be forced (though unwilling) to confess that this is plainly divine, and in very deed inspired and published from God. Have any a mind to understand what were the Doctrines of those Hereticks, who in its infancy and first rise disquieted the Church of God? They may hear them by *Clement* explicated and confuted. Are any willing to have evil and corrupt manners corrected and amended? There is none that in-

veighs

veighs against vice more sharply, none that better exhorts unto vertue, none that shews the way how men should order and lead their lives more exactly then *Clement* doth. An encomium large enough to invite the most curious Reader, seeing there is such choice fare, and variety of dishes for his entertainment.

There is observable in these works of his fore-named, an admirable order and method, purposely intended by himself; which shews the mutual aspect and close connexion of the one unto the other; So that even herein he is mysterious, and Pythagorical. For,

Heinsius in
annotat. in
Clement.

Sculter. in
Mzdull.

Heinsius in
annotat.

Ibid.

Possevin. in
apparat.

1. In the first, he sets forth the vanity of Heathenish Idolatry; by arguments drawn from the original and matter of their gods, and the judgement of the more sound Ethnicks; who, though unwillingly, yet acknowledged their error: Also from the vanity of their Temples and Images: and in the end exhorteth unto the profession of Christianity and Worship of the one only God, which may not unfitly be called ἀποκαθαρσις, or a purgation of such as would become Christians from Heathenish superstitions.

2. In the second, viz. his *Pedagogus*; he teacheth, that the Son of God is our School-master, and what the manners of Christians ought to be. This is μίμνῃς τε καὶ κατήχησις: the initiation or catechising of the new Convert to Christianity, wherein he omits no part of a Christian life, which he doth not adorn with wonderful Wisdom and Learning.

3. In the third, viz. his *Stromes*, there is great variety and plenty of matter, fetched both from the sacred Scriptures and prophane Authors; for the more perfect instruction of those who had been initiated; as setting strong meat before such as were of perfect or riper age, and had their senses exercised to discern both good and evil. And it may be called, ἐπωπλικός, sive ἐπόπτεια. *ad sacra maxima, supremam dei notionem & eternam contemplationem admissio: an admission unto the high and hidden Mysteries of Christianity.*

Libri stromateon octo sunt, adversus Paganos atque hereses pugnati instituentes. Photius. num. 3. Heb. 5. 14.

Heins. ibid.

Concerning this last, take a hint of these two things:

1. That herein he tyeth not himself unto any exact method or order, but is somewhat confused and abstruse: for so he himself confesseth, rendring the Reason why he did so, viz. he therefore dispersed the Doctrines that excite unto true knowledge here and there, that they might not easily be found out by any that are not initiated into these mysteries: therefore, saith he, *neque ordinem neque didionem spectant libri Stromaton; the Books of Stromes respect neither order, nor words: So* that here, it seems he was curious in neither. Again, οἱ σεωματεῖς τῇ πολυμάθειᾳ σωματοποιούμενοι, κρύπτειν ἐντεχνῶς τὰ τῆς γνώσεως βέλοισι σπέρματ' α. these Books being as a body composed of variety of Learning, will artificially conceal the seeds of knowledge: Wherein things as they occasionally offered themselves and came into his mind, are scattered up and down, as a Meadow is variously deckt and adorned. And this seems to have been the manner of the Ancients: in so doing

Strom. lib. 7.

Strom. lib. 1.

Strom. lib. 6.

Quest. 2. de
vita & opi-
bus Dionys.
Areopagit.

doing (saith Peter Haliox) Clemens imitated
Dionysius Areopagita, viz. in that he voluntar-
ily and on purpose wrote his Books some-
what obscurely, and would hide the seeds of
knowledge, and sometimes makes use of new
words: to the end that, (as in hunting) the
truth being found with much pains, might be
the more sweet and acceptable, as also that it
might be the more remote and secure from the
scorn and cavils of petulant men, who apprehend not holy things. Yea, (saith Origen)
using such obscurity, he did herein as the Pro-
phets were wont to do. To which let me
only add the account which he himself gives
of his end in compiling these Books; his
words are, as rendred in the Parisian Editions,

Contra Cel-
sini pag. 774.

Strom. lib. i.

*Non est hoc opus Scriptura artificiosè comparata
ad ostentationem, sed mihi ad senectutem recu-
duntur monimenta, oblivionis medicamentum
verè imago & adumbratio evidentium & anima-
tarum illarum orationum, quas dignus habita-
sum qui audirem, & virorum beatorum qui-
que reverà erant maximi precii & estimationis.*

2. The eighth Book of Stromes is different
from the rest.

Hëinſ. in An-
notat.

1. In the bulk of it: being shorter than
the fore-going; whence it appears not to
be an entire book.

2. In the Inscription thereof: for
In Biblioth. in some copies it hath this Title, saith Photius,
Quis dives salvetur: (of which before) and
begins with these words, *Qui laudatorias ora-
tiones:* in other Copies it is thus inscribed,
Stromaton Octavus, as the other seven, and be-
gins with the same words, which the now
extant eighth book doth; *Sed neque anti-
quissimi Philosophi;*

3. In

3. In the subject thereof, or matter contained and handled in it: for the seven preceding books are altogether Theological, but this wholly Logical; *nihil continet (inquit Scultetus) Theologicum, sed de syllogismis argumentisque logicis quasdam præceptiuunculas* wherein there are some things unsound, though not so many as in his *ὑποτυπώσεις* or institutions: so far Photius. *Heinsius* sup-
In Medul.
In Annotat.
 poseth that this may be a fragment, taken out of his Institutions, to which some things contained in them that were not sound did stick: so that he conceives this book was long lost, and that now a part of the institutions hath invaded the place thereof: Which haply may be the reason, wherefore *Freculphus* reckons the books of *Stromes* to be but seven. This I thought good to intimate, and so to leave it unto the discreet Reader, to judge and make what use of it he can.

That small Commentary set forth by *Bigne*, which he calls *adumbrationes* or shadowings (*Baronius* gives them the name of *breves notæ*, Biblioth. patr., tom. 2. Ad an. 196. §. 24. *short notes*) upon some of the Catholical Epistles, viz. The Epistle of *Peter*, the Epistle of *Jude*, and the first and second of *John* (and the truth is, they give but little light into those Scriptures) though they bear the Title of this ancient Father, yet in all likelihood are they none of his; for neither *Eusebius* nor *Jerom* make any mention of them; Rivet. Crit. Sac. only *Cassiodorus* affirms it, and that it is done in an Attick or Elegant stile; wherein many things are spoken subtly indeed, but not so warily as they should have been. Probable it is that these notes also were by some
 one

one taken out of his Institutions. For these are said to contain in them an explanation of a great part of the sacred Scriptures, and particularly of the Catholical Epistles.

Lib. de An-
tiq.

Rhodig.
lect. antiq.
lib. 18. cap. 1.

Biblioth.
num. 110.

Ibid. cap. 25.

Erasm. adag.

§ 4. For the stile that he useth 'tis elegant and full of gravity: both *Jerom* and *Cyrl* commend in him his eloquence; and *Tribemius* stiles him *Eloquentissimus*, a most eloquent Man: It's conceived that he was born in *Athens*, and consequently it is likely that there also he had his first Education, and the Language of the place, which was of all other the best and finest. *Athenis* (inquit *Tertullianus*) *sapiendi dicendiq; acutissimos nasci relatum est: In Athens are born the most acute men, for Wisdom and Speech: Athens* being famous for Eloquence, as was *Sparta* for Arms. His Books of the School-master (saith *Photius*) are nothing like unto his Institutions or *ὑμνῶν*: for besides that they have not in them any of those sottish and blasphemous opinions, which were to be found in the other; the very phrase is more florid and rhetorical, rising to a certain well-temper'd gravity mixed with sweetness. Such was the *Attick* Dialect: *Atticorum aures teretes ad quas qui se accommodat is existimandus est Atticè dicere* (inquit *Rhodiginus*.) *ut nil sentiantur insolens, nil ineptum; omnia ornata gravia, copiosa:* Whence grew that adage; ἀττική μῆτις, pro *venustâ lepidâq; oratione*.

§ 5. Those excellent Monuments of his own extant, may not unfitly be compared unto a pleasant Garden, richly furnished with great

great variety of the choicest herbs and flowers: wherein the judicious Reader may with much contentment recreate himself, and be thence abundantly stored both for his profit and delight. I shall gather and present you with a view for an invitation.

1. Concerning the Holy Scriptures he speaks very venerably, plainly asserting the Divine authority, perspicuity and perfection of them thus:

We make use (saith he) of the Scriptures for the finding out and judging of the truth of things: Now whatsoever is judged, is not believed before it be judged; wherefore neither is that a principle, that needs to be judged. If it be not enough to affirm what seems to be a truth, but that a proof of what is spoken be requisite, we expect not the Testimony of men, but we prove what is inquired after by the Voice of the Lord, which is more worthy to be believed than any demonstration, or rather is the only demonstration. Again, as in war, that order is not to be forsaken, which the Commander hath given to the Soldier: So neither is that order to be forsaken, that the word hath prescribed to us, which we have received as the Prince or Moderator both of knowledge and practice:

Strom. lib 7.
αὐτὸν χρηματίζοντες
χριστιανισμῶ.

Αρχὴν γὰρ
συνεστῆς
βίβλ.

2. To believe in Christ, is to be made one with him and inseparably united to him: Not to believe is to doubt, and to be divided and at distance from him.

Strom. lib. 4.

Faith is a voluntary anticipation (or beforehand taking hold of what is promised) a pious assent: the substance of things hoped for, and argument of things not seen: Others;

ἀπόλαύσε
ἐκείνου.
Ἰδοὺ οὖν οἷα
συνκελεύε-
ται. σὺν
ἐκείνῳ, οὐκ
ἐν ἑαυτῷ.
Hefychius,

H

an

Strom. lib. 2. an uniting assent unto things not apparent; a demonstration, or manifest assent unto a thing not known.

Strom. lib. 7. 3. The whole life of a godly man is, as it were, a certain holy and solemn festival day: his Sacrifices are Prayers and Praises, and the reading of the Scriptures before his repast; as also Psalms and Hymns while he is at meat: likewise before he goeth to rest, yea, and in the night to Prayers again. By these he unites and joyns himself unto the Quire of Heaven. But doth he know no other Sacrifices? Yes; namely, the largess of instruction, and relief of the poor.

δουλοῦντες ὡς
Χριστῶν.
In protrepticō.
tico.

4. The Sacred Scriptures are they, which make men holy like unto God. *ἵεροποιεῖν αὐτὸν ὁμοποιεῖν αὐτόν.*

Pædagog.
lib. 2. cap. 4.

5. This is to drink the Blood of Jesus, viz. to be made partaker of the incorruption of the Lord.

Strom. lib. 1.

6. It's the greatest argument of Divine Providence, that the Lord permits not sin and vice, which had its rise from mans voluntary defection, to remain unprofitable, nor yet altogether hurtful: for it is the office of the divine wisdom, vertue and power, not only to do good (for this is (to say it once for all) the nature of God, as it is of fire to burn, and of light to illuminate) but also, and that chiefly, to bring that unto some good and profitable end and issue, that hath been devised by wicked men, and to use those things profitably, which seem to be evil. Again, nothing comes to pass without the will of the Lord of all: It remains therefore that we

Strom. lib. 4.

briefly say, that things of this Nature, (viz. persecutions,

persecutions, &c.) do come to pass, the Lord not letting or hindring them; for this only saves both the Divine Providence and Goodness: for we ought not to imagine that he doth effectually cause afflictions; far be it from us so to think; but we ought to persuade our selves, that he doth not hinder those who are the authors of them, but make use of the bold attempts of adversaries unto a good end.

7. God, who is good and gracious, chastiseth for three causes. 1. That he who is chastised may become better than he was. 2. That such as may or shall be saved, being admonished by Examples, may be prepared. 3. That he who is injured, may not be condemned, and apt (or exposed) to more injury.

8. Speaking of the several sorts of Officers in the Church, he makes mention only of those three commonly received, viz. Bishops, Elders and Deacons.

9. Reprehension is, as it were, a kind of Surgery of the affections of the Soul: and admonition is, as it were, a kind of dyet for the sick soul: which counselleth and adviseth unto those things that are to be taken; and forbids such as are to be forborn.

10. He calls pleasure *μετρόπολις κα-
κίας*, the Metropolis, or principal seat of Vice.

11. As touching the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (because I find it recorded by *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus* and others, I thought good not to omit it) he affirmeth it to be

H 1

Pául^{us}

Strom. lib. 6.

Strom. lib. 6.

χειρουργία
τῶν παθῶν.

διαίτα ποσὶ-
στος + ευχῆς.

Pædog.
lib. 1. cap. 8.

Strom. lib. 6.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 13.

Niceph. lib.
4. cap. 33.

Strom. lib. 2. *Pauls* undoubtedly (whom he calls *Σειον Ἀπόστολον*: *the divine Apostle*) and therefore written in the Hebrew Tongue, for the Hebrews sakes, but faithfully translated by *Luke* (who was the Disciple of *Paul*) and published unto the Gentiles or Greeks: and therefore we find in it the like phrase or manner of speech, as is used in the *Acts* of the Apostles. And that we have not the wonted superscription prefixed in this Epistle, viz. *Paul an Apostle, &c.* he gives this reason of it; For, saith he, writing unto the Hebrews, because of the ill opinion they had conceived of him, he very wisely concealed his name, lest upon the sight thereof they should be dismayed, and refuse to read the Epistle: And also, (even as *Macarius* the Elder said) for as much as the Lord himself was the Messenger of the Almighty, and sent unto the Hebrews; *Paul* for modesties sake, or out of his humility being the Apostle of the Gentiles, wrote not himself the Apostle of the Hebrews, partly for the honour due to Christ, and partly also for that he being the Apostle of the Gentiles, did freely and boldly write unto the Hebrews,

Euseb. Nicoph. ibid.

12. Of the Order of the Evangelists according unto the tradition of the Elders, he thus writeth.

The Gospels which contain the Genealogies are placed and accounted the first, (viz. *Matthew* and *Luke*) The Gospel according to *Mark* was written upon this occasion; when *Peter* preached openly at *Rome*, and published the Gospel by lively voice; many of his Auditors entreated *Mark* (having been

a hearer and follower of that Apostle a long time, and one that well remembred his words) to deliver unto them in writing such things as he had heard *Peter* Preach before; which thing, when *Peter* afterward understood to be done, though he had not given command that it should be done; yet being done, he forbad it not. *John* last of all seeing in the other Evangelists the Humanity of Christ set forth at large, being intreated by the Disciples, and filled with the holy Ghost, he wrote chiefly of his Divinity.

13. By the Gnostick in our Author (in whom this term is frequently used) we are to understand the compleat and perfect Christian; whom he so files in opposition unto those foul Hereticks and false Christians, who for the excellency of knowledge, which they vainly boasted of, proudly assumed and appropriated unto themselves this name and title of Gnosticks or knowing men; by which they are commonly known: Against these he opposeth the true Gnostick, for the information and description of whom, he wrote his Books of *Stromes*; as the inscription set down by *Eusebius*, and more at large by *Photius*, doth more than intimate: though especially and particularly he discourseth upon this subject, in the sixth and seventh Books: wherein he treateth of the Affections, Science, Speech, Prayers, Love both to God and to the Truth, of the benignity, Sacrifices, and Contemplation of the true Gnostick. In which description he is so exact, that he therein shews rather what a one a Christian should be, than

Scaltes. in
Medull.

Augustin. de
Heres. He-
inf. annotat.

Lib. 6. ca. 12.
in Biblioth.

what any one is: there being no such example to be found; such as was the pourtrait of a wise man by the Stoicks, and of a commonwealth by *Plato*, whom herein our Author imitated.

Strom. lib. 7.

14. He shews whence several Heresies have their several names. Some (saith he) take their names from the Authors of them; as from *Valentinus*, *Marcion* and *Basilides*; although they boast that they bring the opinion of *Matbias*: for both the Doctrine and Tradition of all the Apostles was one and the same: Some are named from the places as the *Peratici*: Others from the Nation; as the Heresie of the *Phrygians*: Some from their profession; as the *Encratite*, (because they abstained from Marriage, Wine, and the eating of Flesh) others from their proper opinions; as the *Docite* and *Hematite*: Some from their hypotheses, and the things which they honoured; as those which are called *Cainite* and *Ophiani*: Others from those things which they nefariously perpetrated and dared; as those of the *Simoniani*, who are called *Euty-chite*. Of which last *Daneus* thus speaks: *Caniste (qui ab amoribus turpissimis ita sunt appellati) fuerunt tetriores: quanquam Clement, Strom. lib. 7. putat fuisse Euty-chitas; sed errorem subesse in codicibus impressis, nemo qui aliorum de eisdem rebus scripta legerit, dubitabit.*

and Strom.
7. 17.
and Strom.
7. 17.

Comment.
in Augu-
stin. de Hz-
res. cap. 1.
§ 2.

15. In the first Book of *Stromes*, undertaking to demonstrate the antiquity of the Christian Religion; and that it was before the Philosophy of the Heathen; he proves that *Moses* (who flourished in the time of *Inachus* the

the King of the *Argives*) was more ancient than any of the Greek Poets, Philosophers, or Wise men, yea, most of their gods: to which end he sets down and reckons the times of the Kingdoms of the Jews, Persians, Macedonians and Romans: and so presents us with an exact and accurate Chronology from the time of *Moses*, unto the death of the Emperour *Commodus*; in whose Successors reigns, viz. *Severus*, (for *Pertinax*, who came between them, held the Empire but a few Months) he wrote these Books as *Eusebius* concludes: for thus he: *Clemens* writing his Books of *Stromes*, comprised in the first Volume a Chronicle, containing the times unto the death of *Commodus*; so that it is evident, (saith he) that he finished his Books under *Severus*.

Lib. 6. cap. 5.

16, He thus descants upon those words of Christ: *Matth. 10. 23. When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another*: he doth not here perswade to fly, as if to suffer persecution were evil; nor doth he command us, fearing death to decline it by flight; but he wills us, that we be to none the authors or abettors of evil; he requires us to use caution: but he that obeys not, is audacious and rash, unadvisedly casting himself into manifest perils. Now if he that kills a man of God, doth sin against God; he also is guilty of that Murther, who offers himself to Judgement. And such a one shall he be accounted, that avoids not persecution, presumptuously offering himself to be taken. He it is, that as much as in him lyeth, helps forward the impiety of him that persecutes.

Strom. lib. 4.

Much like to this is that of *Albanasius*, Numb. 11. *vid.*

In protrep-
tico.

17. Behold, O man (saith he) for how small a matter the Lord doth give thee Land to till, Water to drink, another Water whereby to send forth, or export, and to return or import thy Commodities, Air wherein to breath, a House to cover thee from the injury of the weather, Fire wherewith to warm thee, and whereat to imploy thee, a World wherein to dwell: all these things so great, so many, thy Lord hath, as it were, rented out unto thee, at a very easie rate; a little Faith, a little Thanks, so it be true, so they be hearty: And most unkind thou, if thou deniest him that rent; *the earth is the Lords, and the fulness thereof*: if then thou dost not acknowledge thy Lord being compassed round with his blessings; he will then say unto thee; Get thee out of my Land, and from out of my House; touch not my Water, partake not of my Fruits. If I have rented these out unto thee for so small a matter, a little thanks, and thou dost deny me that little; thou hast, in so doing, forfeited the whole, and I will require the forfeiture at thy hands.

§ 6. These and many such like excellent passages do his Writings abound with; but yet there are intermixed and scattered up and down, such things as are neither sound, nor savoury, which are therefore carefully to be heeded and avoided. In so much as for this cause Pope *Gelasius* did providently require, (saith *Baronius*) that the works of this
Clement

Gratian,
part. 1. di
dist. 15.
c. 3. ad an.
126. § 26.

Clement should be branded with the note of Apocryphal: wherein notwithstanding he may justly be accounted more wary than wise; for were this ground sufficient to reject the labours of the ancients, because among much good grain there is some chaff to be found, none of them would be remaining, or of any credit at this day. Let us rather sever the Gold from the Dross, than dam up the Mine, and let what's bad be suffer'd to continue for the sake of what is good and useful in them, rather than what's good be rejected for the bads sake. Nevertheless, it may not be amiss to give notice of what will not endure the test and trial; lest through inadvertency, and because of the antiquity and authority of the Author, that should be esteemed and taken up for sound and current, which upon examination will prove adulterate and unpassable. Of which sort are these that follow.

Because Constantius deny'd the substance of the holy Ghost; quis mihi interdicere potest, ne legem institutionum ejus libros, quibus contra gentes scripsit fortissime, quia superior sententia detestanda est. Hieronym. Epist. ad Pamach. & Oceanum, de errorib. Origen.

10. It is a ridiculous thing (saith he) to imagine, that the Body of our Saviour, as a body, did stand in need of necessary aids and Ministries that it might continue: for he did eat not for his bodies sake, which was upheld by an holy Power; but lest it might occasion those with whom he convers'd to think otherwise of him; as indeed afterward some were of opinion, that he appeared only in a Vision and Phantasm: For, to say it once for all, he was void of passion, being one whom no motion of affection could take hold of, neither pleasure nor grief. A strange and gross conceit, and directly contrary to clear Texts of Scripture.

Strom. lib. 6. τὸ αὐτομάτως ὑπάρχον

2. That

Strom. lib. 1.

2. That Christ ought to preach but one year only, he fondly gathered from, *Luke 4. 19.* he hath sent me, *To preach the acceptable year of the Lord:* and supposeth that he suffer'd in the thirtieth year of his age. Both which, as his errors, *Casaubon* maketh mention of; and how manifestly repugnant they both are to the History of the *Evangelists*, is obvious to every observing eye.

Exercitat. 1.
§ 36.

Strom. lib. 6.

3. He is of the mind, that *Jesus Christ* descended into Hell for this cause, that he might preach the Gospel unto the dead, and that these are the bodies spoken of, *Matth. 27. 53. 53.* that arose at the time of Christ's passion, that they might be translated unto a better place. Yea, that the Apostles, as well as the Lord himself, did preach the Gospel unto those that were dead. *Chemnitius* thus reports it: *Clemens Alexandrinus* (inquie)

Ibid.

In examin.
parte 1. de-
tradit.

in 4. v.

In protrep-
tico.

4. He frequently asserteth the freedom of man's will in spirituals. *e. g.* Yours is the Kingdom of Heaven, if directing or turning your free-will unto God, you will believe only.

only, and follow that short way that is preached unto. Again, neither praises nor dispraises, neither honours or rewards, nor punishments are just, if the soul have not free power to desire, and to abstain. Also, because it is in our power to obey or not to obey; that none may pretend ignorance, the divine word gives a just call unto all; and requires what every one is enabled to perform. Lastly, defection, going back, and disobedience are in our power as is also obedience. And in this particular he erred not alone, the two immediately preceding, and divers other of the Ancients being of the same judgement; the ground whereof may be conceived to be this, because many of them had been in their first years brought up in the study of Philosophy, and of Philosophers being converted, became Christians; this made them attribute so much, even too much unto Philosophy, which proved the occasion of many errors in them: Hence it is that *Tertullian* calls Philosophers *Patriarchas hereticorum*: and *Rhemus* having shewn of how great advantage the Philosophy of Platonicks was unto *Valentinus* (who had been of that Sect) in the hatching of his wild and sottish Heresies; breaks out into these words; See (saith he) how great mischief Philosophy hath always done unto Christianity, well therefore might the Apostle so caution the *Colossians*; Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit. *Jerom* also exercising some errors of his, wherein he had followed *Origen*, thus pleads for himself; *Fac me, inquit, errasse in adolescentiâ, & philosophorum, i. e. gentilitium*

τὸ σωθῆναι
μὴ τὸ κερδοῦν
μαλ' ὅτι
πρόδοι.

ὁρμῆς καὶ ἀ-
πορμῆς.

Strom. lib. 2.

ibid.

Cent. 3. cap.
4.

Lib. advers.
Hermogen.

In argumen.
lib. Tertull.
advers. Va-
lentinian.

Coloss. 3. 2.

Epist. ad
Pammach.
& Oceanum
de errorib.
Orig.

Patrum non-
nulli sunt,
qui pro
ea quâ
imbuti fue-
runt adole-
scentes in
Scholis eth-
nicorum
Philosophiâ
naturæ viri-
bus plus æ-
quo tribu-
unt. Ar-
rowsm.
Tactic. lib.
2. cap. 2.
§ 3.

Cent. 2. cap.
10.

Comment.
in Rom. 8.7.

Strom. lib. 1.

Cent. 2. cap.
5.

Strom. lib. 3.
& 5.

*tilium studiis eruditum, in principio fidei de-
mata ignorasse Christiana, & hoc putasse
Apostolis, quod in Pythagorâ & Platone,
Empedocle legeram. Cur parvuli in Christo, æ-
læntis errorem sequimini? Cur ab eo impi-
tatem discitis, qui necdum pietatem noverat?
Secunda post naufragium tabula est, culpam
simpliciter confiteri. Imitati estis errantem,
imitamini & correctum. Erravimus juvenes,
emendemur senes, &c. Now among other
things Philosophy doth beyond measure ad-
vance the power of mans will and natural
abilities: and this opinion drew on with it
the extenuation of Original sin, and the de-
pravation of the Doctrine of the Merit of
Christ; into both which this Father among
the rest was but meanly insighted. And this
may be the reason why the Reverend Calvin
stiles that Doctrine of Free-will, Heathenish
Philosophy: *Procul sit (inquit) à Christiano
pectore illa de arbitrii libertate Gentilis Philo-
sophia.**

5. He affirms, that because the Devil
hath Free-will, he may repent: which say-
ing of his seems to have been the occasion of
that errour in Origen his Scholar, that the
Devils might be saved; as both the Centu-
rists, and also Gentian Heroet conceive; who
in his Education hath this Note in the Mar-
gin upon these words of Clement; *hinc error
Origenis.*

7. He also phansied, that some of the An-
gels were incontinent, and being overcome
with lust, they descended and disclosed

many secrets unto those woman with whom they fell in love, and whatsoever things came to their knowledge, which the other Angels conceal'd, and reserved unto the coming of the Lord.

Besides these there are some other things wherein he is judged to be both unsound and uncertain; sometimes affirming one thing, sometimes another; as concerning the Baptism of Hereticks, which he seems altogether to condemn: Also, that second Marriages have imperfection in them, and are not without sin, yea, are little better than fornication; contrary to that express Text.

1 Timoth. 5. 14. *I will that the younger women (viz. Widows, verse 11.) marry.*

Cent. 2. cap.

Like-
wise, concerning good works, perfection and repentance, he seems sometimes to contradict himself, and vents very dangerous opinions: *adèd in multis articulis lubricus est, ac sæpenumerò sibi contradicit, ut quid constanti sententiâ affirmet, vix interdum agnoscat.*

§ 7. How long this Father lived, as also when, where and how he ended his days is very uncertain: Histories being silent herein: only probable it is that he attained unto many years, and continued long after the death of his Master *Pantenus*: For it seems that he compiled his Book, both of Stromes and Informations or Institutions (if not all the rest) after that time, seeing he mentions him as dead, and some good while before: as also that he had through length of time forgotten

Cent. 2. cap.
10.

gotten many of those things, which he had heard from him. He flourished (saith Jerome) under the Emperour Severus and Antoninus Caracalla: and (as some report) he ended his Pilgrimage by a natural death in Alexandria, where he had long taught; dying in a good old age; and full of days, circa annum 195.

In Catalog.

Tertul

Tertullianus.

HE styles himself in the Titles prefixed to his Books by the name of *Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus*; perhaps to distinguish himself from some others, whose names did in part agree with his own. For his Country, he was an African, and had for the place of his Birth there the famous City of *Carthage*, πόλις ἀντίπαλος τῇ Ρώμῃ (as it's called by *Strabo*) *Rome's* *Corrival*, *de terrarum orbe emula* (saith *Pliny*) that contended with it for the Empire of the world. And 'tis observed as memorable, that in his time two of his Countrymen held the places of highest Dignity both Civil and Ecclesiastical, viz. *Septimius Severus* and *Victor*, both Africans, the one being Emperour, and the other Bishop of *Rome*.

His Father was a Centurion, one of eminent Rank, as bearing the office of a Proconsul, who took care to have his Son from his tender years to be well educated, and trained up in the Schools; where, having a pregnant wit and excellent parts, he proved a notable proficient, and soon attained unto such a measure of knowledge in Philosophy and all kind of Learning, that he was by all esteemed for one of the most exquisite and best accomplished Scholars of his time.

He

Pamel. in vi.
ta Tertull.

Geograph.
lib. 10.
Hist. natu-
ral. lib. 15.
cap. 18.

Pamel. ibid.

Hieron. in
catalog.

Baron. ad
an. 197. §.
18.

Sixt. Senenf.
lib. 3.

Lib. 2. cap. 2.
Lib. 3. cap. 8.

He for some years professed and taught the art of Rhetorick in *Carthage* with approbation and applause; from which, after a while he proceeded to the practice of the Law (to the study whereof he had formerly applied himself, and became well skilled therein, as *Ensebius* testifieth, stiling him a man well experienced in the Roman Laws) *accuratè legum (inquit Nicephorus) & actorum Romanorum peritiâ clarus*) performing the office of an Advocate, in pleading the causes of such Clients as entertained him, with much dexterity. But he is designed unto a more high and honourable employment, viz. to plead the cause of God, and to publish the glorious mysteries of the Gospel: in order whereunto the divine goodness finds out a way for the translating of him from the School of the world into the Shool of Christ, by his conversion from Gentilism to Christianity.

As touching the time and manner thereof, though nothing be left upon Record, either by himself, or others directly pointing it out, and acquainting us therewith; yet are there some things to be found from whence it may be probably conjectured, that it fell out while he was yet but young, and in the prime of his years. For

1. He wrote a Treatise of the troubles attending Marriage, *cum adhuc esset adolescenter* when (saith *Jerom*) he was but a young man: yet *Baronius* conceives it most likely to have been done by him after his conversion; for (saith he) I cannot think that *Jerom* would have directed *Eustochium* (whom he wished to read that Book of his) unto the writings

Advers. Jo-
vinian, lib. 1.
Ad an. 197.
§ 19.

of an Heathen for her instruction in that particular.

2. *Jerom* and others report concerning him, that he continued an orthodox Presbyter in the Church, *usque ad statam mediamque etatem*, unto his middle age; and afterwards fell away unto the Heresie of the Montanists: but now evident it is, that he wrote the most of his Books before that time, to the doing whereof, and furnishing for such a work, a great deal of time must needs be requisite.

In the judgment of *Pamelius*, and according to his computation, he became a Christian in the third year of the Reign of *Severus*, in which also he is of opinion, that he wrote his Book *de Pallio*, or of the Cloak; and so continued year after year to put forth some or other of his Labours unto the time of his defection, which fell out in the eighteenth year of that Emperour's Reign: so that he remained in the Church after his conversion about fifteen years before he arrived unto his middle age, and therefore could be of no great age when first he gave up his name to Christ.

That which gave the occasion of his relinquishing the Heathenish, and embracing the Christian Religion, some conceive (taking a hint hereof from a passage of his own) to have been this, *viz.* that the Devils being sometimes adjured, did, though unwillingly, confess that they were the Gods of the Gentiles. This put him upon the search and study of the Scriptures, whose great antiquity (as transcending all other writings in this regard) asserted their authority, and the truth of the predictions contained in them (testified by

In catalog.
Nicephor.
lib. 4. c. 34.

In vita. Tert.
Tertull.

In Apolog.

Pamel. in vita
Tertull.

answerable events) was a sufficient argument of their Divinity: which two, duly considered, could not but prove strong inducements to perswade him, that the Doctrine and Religion therein taught and discoursed, must needs be the truest, and above any other most worthiest to be believed and embraced: To which he added, as no small help hereunto, the diligent perusal of those writings of his Predecessors, wherein they had testified against the Gentiles their profane practices and abominable Idolatries.

Euseb. lib. 2.
cap. 2.
Clericorum
nominatissi-
mis Romanæ
urbis. Opus
detemporib.
mundi.
In vitâ Ter-
tull.

Having after his conversion spent some time in *Carthage* (where he was promoted unto the degree and office of a Presbyter) he afterward came to *Rome*, in which City he was had in great estimation, being famous among those learned men who flourished there at that time. Upon what occasion he came to *Rome*, and how long he made his abode there is uncertain: *Pamelius* conceives that his Book *de coronâ militis* was there written in the sixteenth year of *Severus*, in the eighteenth year of whose Reign he made his defection from the Church, upon which he was excommunicated, and consequently in all likelihood then left that place, returning again unto *Carthage*. But how long or short soever his continuance was there, it proved too long for him, in regard of the mischief that there betided him; for in this place it was, that he split and dashed himself upon the Rock of Montanism, either through the overlargeness of the Sails of self-conceit, or the impetuous gusts of his own passions.

Jerome

Jerom and divers other Historians do agree in this, that his defection took beginning from the envy conceived against, and contumelies cast upon him by the Romish Clergy; moved hereunto, either by his Learning and Virtue (wherein haply he might go beyond and outshine them, and so seem to detract from their worth, and eclipse their Glory) or for that being extremely studious of continence and chastity, they thought him to lean toward, and too much favour (though closely) the Heresie of *Montanus*: or lastly, because in some of his Books he had too sharply reprehended the vices which he had observed among them: hereupon, being a man of a cholerick and violent spirit, impatient and unable to brook and bear such injuries (*Cum ingenio & calamo omnia vinceret, impatientiam vincere non potuit, inquit Scultet. Miserrimus ego (inquit Tertullianus ipse) semper aeger caloribus impatientiae, patientiae sanitatem suscipere necesse est*) he openly joyned himself unto that Sect, which being once fallen to, he as zealously laboured to defend and plead for, as he had formerly opposed it; proving as vehement an adversary of the Orthodox, as he had been of the Hereticks. Some conceive the occasion of his fall might be, because that after the death of *Agrippinus* he suffered a repulse, and was put by the Bishoprick of *Carthage*: (*Sic Valentinus, cum cujusdam Ecclesiae Episcopatum ambiret, & ipsius non fuisset habita ratio, offensus hac re, veteris cujusdam opinionis prestigias adversus orthodoxos docere cepit, hoc videlicet patio sui contemptum ulturus*) whereunto may be added as a step to

In catalog.
cent. Rhe-
nan. Plarina.
Nicephor,
&c.

Cent. 3. cap.
10.

Pamel. in vi.
ta.

Scultet. in
Medull.

Lib. de pati-
ent.

Pamel. in
vitā. concil.
tom. 1. Bin-
nii notæ in-
vit. Victor.

Rhenan. in
argument.
lib. Tertull.
advers. Va-
lentinian.

Baron. ad
an. 201. con-
trovers.
Tract. 2. q.
23. § 23.

his fall, that he was a man of an easie belief, and of no great judgement, (saith *Rivet*) in-
somuch as he was apt to give credit unto the
feigned Relations of every silly woman; and
to prefer them before the most certain and Ca-
tholick Doctrines.

Baron. ad
an. 201. §
10. 11.

These things thus making way for it, the
work became the more facile and easie;
whercof one *Proclus* was the unhappy instru-
ment, reputed a most eloquent man, and one
of the more moderate followers of *Montanus*:
with this Man being then at *Rome* *Tertullian*
grew familiar, having him in admiration for
his eloquence and Virgin old age: *ut, Proculus*
(*inquit*) *nostræ Virginis senectæ & Christianæ*
eloquentiæ dignitas: loqui autem eum de Pro-
culo seu Proclo Montanistâ apparet, inquit Pa-
melius, de quo supra auctor lib. de præscrip-
advers. heretic. *Proclus* making his advan-
tage hereof, soon deceived him, telling him
that the Doctrine which he professed, he had
received not from Man, but from the *Paraclete*
that descended first upon *Montanus*: he highly
commended chastity, injoynd fasting to be
observed in the strictest manner, as by the in-
stinct of the spirit, multiplyed watchings and
prayers, and so much extolled martyrdom,
that he held it unlawful to fly, or use any
means for the preservation of life. What he
thus confidently taught and delivered, was
greedily taken in by *Tertullian*, in so much
he quickly became giddy, yea even drunken
with his Fanatical opinions; which as he con-
tained with facility, so did he retain them
with pertinacy: in whom we find this ver-
fied; that eminent gifts may occasion a Man
fall

Lib. advers.
Valentinian

In annotat.
in loc.

Baron. *ibid.*

fall, but cannot keep him from falling: it being Grace alone that makes the soul steady, and secures it against all the impetuous blasts of temptation.

Great parts expose men to hazard.

1. Through pride, which is too often the companion of them, and begotten by them: hence they soar aloft, prying into things secret, not content to walk in the common and safe road: they would (as he, *Acts* 8. 9.) be some body more than ordinary; and so transcending the limits of sobriety, they do *ὑπεεφρονεῖν*: upon which precipice being once gotten, they soon fall into the snare of the Devil.

2. Through envy, which for the most part follows them, as the shadow the substance: this blasting their reputation, and being as a dead fly in the pot of their precious ointment; they betake them unto factions: chusing rather to side with the erroneous in esteem, than with the orthodox in disgrace.

3. Through ambition, they would fain be as eminent in place as in parts: accounting themselves injured when others are preferred before them: hence it comes to pass, that sometime in way of discontent and by way of revenge, they have deserted, yea set themselves against the truth, because they would make opposition against those that have stood in their way, and crost them in their expectations.

By this means he lost both his repute, and also his place in the Church, which excommunicated and owned him no longer. Hence also it came to pass, that having erred so

Hilar. in
Math. 5.

Gratian. par.
v. diffinit.
25.
Cent. 3. c. 10.

Rivet. crit.
fac.

Tom. 3. E.
pist. 1.

Augustin. de
heres. c. 86.

Præfat. ant.
opera Tert.

Rhenan. in
argument. in
Tertul. ex-
hort. ad ca-
stitat.

Hoc tum A-
postolis, tum
Cypriano (in
exhortat.

Martyris
quoniam in-
quir, in fine
atque in con-
firmatione
muni anti-
christi rem-
pus infectum

appropinquare nunc coarctat & aliis veteribus usitatissimum est
Johannem extremum latrare sua quisque vite existeret, presertim ad hunc
gentibus illis prius in Imperatorum persecutionibus. Pamel. in annotat.
Epist. Cyprian 54. to the same purpose speak Baronius ad an. 255. § 46. &
Gregory the Great (who like Gots and Vandals invaded Italy, clearing
spitting out her own the late century were thoughts and taught the
end of all things was then come. Real's view of the Civil Law. pag. 144.

and lost much of their esteem: being prohibi-
ted to be read by *Gelasius*: and because absurd
opinions were in them, mingled with other
things, they were by the orthodox condemned
and reckoned in the number of Apocryphal
books. He was (saith *Bellarmino*) an arch
Heretick, and in matters dogmatical of very
small account: *Jerom* therefore being by
Helvidius prest with the authority of *Tertul-
ian*: in his heat thus roundly replies; I say
no more of him, but that he was no man of
the Church. Nevertheless, that especially
for which he was adjudged and proceeded
against as an Heretick, was this, that betaking
him to the *Cataphrygians* or *Montanists*,
(whom before he had opposed) he began to
condemn second marriages (contrary to the
Doctrine of the Apostle, *1 Tim. 5. 14.*) as no
better then fornication: which opinion he
was the rather moved to embrace, (saith *Rhe-
nanus*) because he thought that the last day
(which elegantly he calls *diem expeditionis*,
lib. 1. ad uxorem.) was near at hand, as also
did *Jerom* and other of the Ancients ground-
ing upon that of the Apostle, *1 Cor. 7. 29.* *the
time is short, it remaineth that they that have
wives, be as though they had none.* Wherein
he added (which compleated his fault) that
being divided from the *Cataphrygians*, he at
length gathered conventicles of his own, and
became the Authour of that sect, which from

So
as leg
pally

him are called and known by the name of *Tertullianists*. August. de
heres. c. 86.

Doubtless the fall of this worthy Man struck a very great fear with admiration into the hearts of the faithful, when they saw one so eminent, and learned, such a lover of truth, and in every regard so accomplished, to miscarry. Baron ad an.
216. § 17.

In this sad condition did he remain unto the end of his life, for ought that appears in History to the contrary: which mentions his fall, but not his rise and recovery: herein greatly to be pittied, that having with so much zeal and strength maintained the Doctrine of Christianity against the adversaries thereof, he should at length unworthily desert the truth, and become a champion of the grossest errors. It is iniquity, and maketh a Man a transgressor, to build again the things which he had destroyed, and a point of greatest folly to begin in the spirit, but to end in the flesh; let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall. Gal. 3. 18.
Gal. 3. 3.
I Cor. 10. 12.

Yet I shall not omit to give you the judgement and charitable thoughts of the learned *Daille* concerning him; We are to take notice (saith he) that his Montanism put no separation at all betwixt him and other Christians, save only in point of Discipline, which he, according to the severity of his nature, would have to be most harsh and rigorous: for as for his Doctrine, it is very evident, that Treatise of
the use of the
Fathers lib.
2. cap. 4.
vid lib. de
Mon. cap. 2.
Et li. contr.
Psych. cap. 1.

So also *Meric Casaubon*, it's true he became a Montanist or was accounted so at least; though in very deed he never was of his Congregation or Belief, generally; but in matter of private Revelations only. Treatise of Enthiasim.

he constantly kept to the very same rule, and the same Faith that the Catholicks did. And this is evident enough, out of all those books which were written by him, during the time of his being a *Montanist*: wherein he never disputeth or contendeth about any thing, save only about Discipline.

§ 2. He is a very ancient Authour, near neighbour unto the Apostles times, the very first among all the Latin Fathers, and Ecclesiastical Writers, whose works are come to our hands, then whom the Christian World scarce hath an Elder: who preceeded all the Councils, (those in the *Aſs* only excepted) and the first that strenuously asserted and vindicated the Doctrines of the Gospel against all the cunning cavils and bold attempts of prophane Hereticks.

He was a Man of a sharp wit, and vehement spirit, very bold and undaunted, which he notably discovered in his plea and Apology for the Christians, wherein he budgeth not a jot from that constancy that became him, not caring and little curious to curry favour, as knowing well he had a just and honest cause in hand. *Vehementi ardore magnoque affectu pro orthodoxâ religione scribit, disputat, pugnat, ut liqueat, eum nihil fingere, vera pietatis atque Martyrii amantibus semper gratissimus.* So accomplisht was he and exactly skillful in all kind of Learning, as no Man more in the judgement of *Jerom*; in so much as he accounted that what himself had, was but very little in comparison: also I pray (saith he to *Fabiola*) *ne meam filiam illius scri-*

Rhenan. in præfat. & in annotat. in lib. de cor. milit. item in argum. in li. de carne Christi. primus Latinorum qui quidem extet. Theologus Aventin. anal. Rhenan. in præfat.

Hieronym. in catalog.

Zeph. in argum. in apologetic.

Rhenan. in argum. in li. de patient.

Laſtant. inſtitut. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Epist. Mag. no.

Epist. 128.

mini

mini comparetis : compare not my drop to his stream : vir undecunque doctissimus : being excellently insighted into Philosophy, a most accurate disputant, throughly exercised in the Art of Rhetorick, and most compleatly furnished with the knowledge of all Antiquity. He had diligently perused all sorts of Authors (a large Catalogue whereof is set down by *Pamelius*) Grammarians, Poets, Historians, Philosophers, Mathematicians, Orators, Civilians, &c. from whence this industrious and busie Bee, as from so many flowers, gathered that honey wherewith his Hive was so replenished. He was no less acquainted with the Greek, then with the Latin Tongue, as appears from his being conversant in Authors as well Greek as Latin (the most of Ecclesiasticks that had gone before him, having written in Greek.) Shortly, in the judgement of *Erasmus*, he was *inter Latinos Theologus multo omnium doctissimus.*

Rhenan. in
prefat.

Cent. 3. c. 10.

Pamel. in
vitâ.

In prefat. in
Hilarium.

After his conversion he bent his studies to Divinity, and spent night and day in reading not only Ecclesiastical Writers, but chiefly the sacred Scriptures, wherein his books shew him to be more than ordinarily versed : in citing whereof he follows the Interpretation of the Septuagint in the old Testament, and the Greek Text in the new : in translating, whereof in a peculiar manner and different from all others, it's very manifest that he was no mean Grecian but familiarly acquainted with that Tongue. He had a notably faculty in teaching, and could do much that way wherein as also in writing, he excelled both in fulness and gravity : yet would he sometimes have

Pamel. in vi-
tâ.

Cent. 3. c. 10.

Erasm. in
prolegom.
ante Grigen.
Cent. 3. c. 10.

have such sprinklings of the salt of his wit among; as that he would move laughter in his Auditors with his merry conceits: whom herein *Jerom* too often imitates.

Rhenan. ar-
gum. in lib.
de patient.

Danzus. in
Aug. de he-
res. cap. 86.

Bero. ad an.
201. §. 8.

Contra he-
res. c. 24.

He was as eminent and as exemplary in his life as other ways, *non loquitur solum magna, verum etiam indubie vixit*, not only speaking great things, but without doubt acting and living accordingly: as *Minutius Felix* his contemporary; in his *Octavio*: speaks of the Christians of that time, *non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus*. Of a comely behaviour, innocent and harmless, *ubique, mirum, magnumque animi Zelum in Deum spirat*: full of zeal toward God and of great austerity, insomuch as his over-valuing of continence, watchings, fastings, &c. gave *Proclus* his Seducer no small advantage, and became one of those baits whereby he was at length insnared. These things had made his name and memory sweet and precious amongst Men unto this day, had not the dead fly corrupted and marr'd the favour of the fragrant ointment.

Let *Vincentius Lyrniensis* be heard, (an ancient Father too) and if any thing be wanting above, he will supply it, and make his encomium full. He is (saith he) accounted the chief among the Latins, for who more learned then this Man? who more exercised in things both divine and humane? In the wonderful vastness and capacity of his mind, he comprehended all Philosophy, and all the sects of Philosophers, the authors and assertors of those sects, together with all their Discipline: all variety of History, yea of all kinds of study. Was not his Wit so weighty and vehement

ment, that he propounded almost nothing to himself, to be overcome and master'd by him, which he either brake not through with the sharpness, or else dasht in pieces with the ponderousness of it? Moreover, who can set forth the praises of his speech, which is so invironed with I know not what strength of reason, that whom he could not perswade, he doth even force to yeild to his consent: in whom there are as many sentences as words, and as many victories as reasons: as *Marcion*, *Apelles*, *Praxeas*, *Hermogenes*, the Jews, the Gentiles, Gnosticks and others knew full well, whose blasphemies he overthrew, with the many and mighty mounts and batteries of his Volumes, as it were with certain thunderbolts. And yet even this man, by much more eloquent than happy, not holding the ancient Faith, even he also became in *Ecclesiâ magna tentatio*, a great temptation in the Church of God.

§ 3. As he was a Man of great abilities, so was he of no less industry: as appears by those lasting monuments of his learned and elaborate Volumes; *Acutus Scriptor & gravis* (inquit *Danzus*) & *qui totum hominem desideret, imò etiam sæpè ingenii communem captum superet*, who was had in great estimation, especially by holy *Cyprian*; so that he suffered no day to pass, without the diligent reading and perusal of some part of him: testifying the extraordinary respect which he bare toward him, by the words he was wont to use, when he called for him, saying, *Da Magistrum*, reach hither my Master: whom also in many things

In Aug. in
heres. c. 86.

Hieronym.
in catal.

Pamel. in
vitâ.

Diogen. La-
ert. in vitâ
ejus.

Fertur mul-
ta, quæ non
extant opus-
cula condi-
didisse. Hie-
ron. in cata.
Hieronym.
advers. Jo-
vinian. lib. 1.
In vitâ Ter-
tul. annal. ad
an. 197. §
20.

Epist. 128.

Hieronym.
in catal. de
Papiâ.

lib. de Ani-
mâ. cap. 55.

Tertul. lib.
de carne
Christi c. 8.
Epiphân.
heret. 44.

things he imitated, borrowing even his words and expressions from him, and transcribing many passages out of him, which he inserted into his own books: many other also of the Ancients that followed him made use of him, viz. *Jerom*, *Ambrose*, *Fortunatus*, *Basil*, *Isidore*, &c, which plainly shews that they had him in great veneration. As the ancient Ethnicks honoured *Homer* the Prince of Poets, and particularly *Arcefilaus* the Academic, who was so delighted with, and studious of him, that he would always read somewhat of him before he went to sleep, as also in the morning when he arose, saying that he went, *ad Amasium, to his beloved*.

Of his works some are wanting, but the most remaining unto this day. Of the first sort are.

1. His Treatise of the troubles attending marriage, unto a Philosopher his friend: which he wrote when he was but young, (*cum adhuc esset adolescens luserat in hac materiâ*) before, as *Pamelius* thinks, but in the judgement of *Baronius*, after his conversion.

2. His book of the Garments of *Aaron*, which *Jerom* mentions in his Epistle to *Fabiola*.

3. Of the hope of the faithful: wherein he declares himself to be a Millenary: himself mentions it, *advers. Marcionem, lib. 3.*

4. Of Paradise, which he thus speaks of himself, *habes etiam de Paradiso a nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animum apud inferos sequestrari in die Domini.*

5. Against *Apelles*; who (with *Lucian* the Heretick) having been the Disciple of

Marcion

Marcion; and falling upon errors of his own, differing from his Master, became the author of a Sect, that from him have the name of *Apelletiani*, (as *Tertullian* styles them) or *Apelleiani* (as *Epiphanius*) or *Apellite* (as *Augustine*) or *Apelliaci* (as *Rhenanus*) alluding unto them, as the deniers of the Flesh of Christ (which was their error) *Quasi sine pelle, sine cute, hoc est, carne; ut Horatius Juleum vocat Apellam, quod sine pelle sit, nempe quod præputium non habeat.* Against these Hereticks did *Tertullian* write this Book, inscribed *adversus Apelletianos*.

De heresi.
c. 23.
In annot. in
li. de carne
Christi. Ter.

Pamel. frag-
ment. Tert.

6. Six Books *περὶ ἐκστασεως, Of Rapture*; which (saith *Pamelius*) seem rather to have been written in Greek than Latine; and a seventh, which he wrote particularly against *Apollonius*; (who with *Victor* are the only two Latin Fathers that preceded *Tertullian*, who hath the third place among them in *Jeroms* Catalogue) wherein he endeavours to defend whatever the other reprov'd him for. These were written after his defection against the Church, containing in them divers of his wild, Montanistical conceits; which therefore may well be wanting without any detriment, the bad by much over-weighing the good that was in them; they might happily be suppress'd by some, who wish'd well unto the peace of the Church; and surely the loss of them would have proved a gain, had the errors contained in them, been with them buried in everlasting oblivion. It's a mistake of *Platina* to say, that he wrote six Books of Ecstasy against *Apollonius*; whereas 'twas only a seventh: So it is also of *Honorius*
Angusto-

Hieronym.
in cat.

Rhenan.
præfat. in o-
pera Tertu.

In vita Ca-
listi.

De Script.
Ecclef. cap.
54.

Augustodunensis, who reckons but five of Ecclastic, and six against *Apollonius*: and of *Trithemius*, who records but one of each, which he saith he had seen; so that they seem to have been extant, even unto his time.

Contra
Marcion.
lib. 1.

7. A Book against *Marcion*, as he himself intimates; written by him in his yonger years, somewhat overhastily: as *Jerom* speaks of an Allegorical exposition of the Prophet *Obadiab* composed by himself in his youth; *libere profiteor illud fuisse puerilis ingenii; in libris quoque contra Marcionem Septimius Tertullianus hoc idem passus est.*

Abdiam
Prophet.

Inproleg.
ante lib.
Tertul. ad
Nationes.

8. Of the submission of the Soul.

9. Of the superstition of that age, these two, saith *Goshfredus*, among the rest were in the Index of the Books of *Tertullian*, which was prefix'd unto that Ancient Manuscript, out of which he took those two Books of his *ad Nationes* which he published.

In argumen.
lib. Tertul.
de resur-
rect. carn.

10. That the Soul is corporeal, *volumen hoc suppressum putamus, inquit Rhenanus.* To which added.

11. *De Fato.*

12. *De Nuptiarum angustiis ad Amicum philosophum.*

13. *De mundis & immundis animalibus.*

14. *De circumcissione.*

15. *De Trinitate.*

16. *De censu anime adversus Hermogenem*: Which *Pamelius* hath in his Catalogue also.

17. *Trithemius* sets down in his Catalogue a Book of his *Contra omnes Hereses*

refes; which begins with *Divorum Hereticorum*.

18. The Book of English Homilies, *tom. 2. part. 2.* against the peril of idolatry, mentions his Book, *Contra coronandi morem*; which I find no where else spoken off: unless it be the same with his Book, *De coronâ Militis*.

19. Bishop *Andrews* in his Speech against Mr. *Traske*, mentions a Book of *Tertullian's De Sabbato Judaico*, which (saith he) we have lost.

His Works that are extant follow here in their order, as *Rhenanus*, and others have set them down.

1. Of Patience, wherein he ingeniously describes that grace, presenting us with a lively draught of it, pressing with divers notable arguments to it, and proving that neither losses in Estate, nor provocations, reproaches, nor the death of friends, the desire of revenge, nor divine castigations are just causes of impatience.

*Hyper. de
rat. stud.
Theolog.*

*Sculter.
Medull.*

2. Of the Flesh of Christ; that it was true and real Humane Flesh which he took: against *Marcion*, affirming him to be clothed only with imaginary flesh, and not born, also against *Apelles*, who granted him to have a solid body, but withal held that he took it not of the Virgin *Mary*, but borrowed it of the Stars and Cœlestial Substances, which he restored again, when he ascended.

*Rhenan.
argument in
lib.*

*August de
heres. cap.
23.*

3. Of the Resurrection of the Flesh: *Liber verè aureus*; a truly golden Book, saith *Gualther*: wherein he proves it, *luculentissimis*

*In Apolog.
pro Zuiogl.
Cent. 3. cap.
4.*

Sculdet. in
Medull.

mis & firmissimis argumentis, most clearly and strongly : 1. Because the dignity of the flesh is such, that it ought to be raised. 2. The Power of God is such, that it may be raised. 3. The Justice of God requires that it should be raised up. 4. The Testimonies of Scripture are clear, that it shall be raised.

Mynfinger.
Schol. in
misticur.
Just. lib. 2.
In vocabu-
lario.

In Medull.

See also
Chamier.
tom. i. lib. 2.
cap. 8.

Baron. ad
an. 201. § 8.
Epist. de
discer. Spi-
ritib.

Rhenan. in
argument.
Pamel. in
argument.

4. Of Prescriptions against Hereticks : an expression borrowed from the Civil Law : used by Civilians, *pro exceptione perpetua : Prescriptio (inquit Altemtaig) est jus ex tempore capiens firmitatem.* In what sense it is here to be understood, take *Sculdetus* his words. *Cum (inquit) vindicanti rem suam domino possessio longi temporis objicitur, prescribi ei dicitur, eaq; prescriptio longi temporis præcisâ locutione pro Prescriptio ex longi temporis possessione appellatur. Sic Prescriptionem hereticorum & Ecclesie vocat Tertullianus illud omne, quod juri cujusdam speciei, heretici Ecclesie, & contra hereticis Orthodoxi opponebant.* A most excellent, eloquent and convincing Commentary : a choice and truly golden piece (saith *Zanchy*) wherein being willing to put a stop, if possible, to that spreading gangrene, he delivereth unto the Faithful certain Rules, by which they might be enabled to discern, who are Hereticks ; and the better know how to deal with them.

5. Against the Jews : wherein he convinceth them of their errors, in denying the Gentiles admittance unto the Gospel (as *1 Thess. 2. 16.*) in ascribing too much unto the Law of *Moses*, and urging the Ceremonies as necessary unto Salvation, which he proves to be temporary and mutable; and that they

they were accordingly changed by the coming of Christ, as was fore-prophefied; whom they deny to come; therefore doth he from the Scriptures largely difcours of, and prove the Nativity, Kingdom and Paffion of Christ; as also the calling of the Gentiles, rejection of the Jews, destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the second coming of Christ.

6. Five Books against *Marcion*; of whom *Eusebius* reports, that meeting *Polycarp*, and asking him; Dost thou know us? *Polycarp*, replied, I know thee to be first born of Satan: Among other his wicked errours, this was one: That there were two Gods: one who was the Father of Christ, whom he called good, clement and merciful: the other the Creator of the World, whom he called not only just, (as *Cerdon* his Master had done from whom he sprung) but also cruel and evil; for which cause he is justly branded by *Clement of Alexandria* with this Note, ἀχαρίστον τῷ δημιουργῶι; an ungrateful wretch towards his Creator, the God of Nature. This our Author strongly confutes, proving the the Creator of the World to be the only true God, and the Father of Christ.

lib. 4. cap. 14.

Epiphani. hares. 43. Augustin. de hares. cap. 23.

7. Against *Hermogenes*; who was an African, our Authors Country-man; and by Profession a Painter. The Errour he held, (which here *Tertullian* confutes) was, that the matter whereof all things were made, was coeternal with God; which errour he therefore embraced, because he hoped by this means to excuse God from being the author of evil, Which (saith he) proceeded

Rhenan. id annotat.

Rhenan. in argument.

Idem. in
annotat.

not from the Creator, but from the matter whereof things were created : *Vix alibi densus est argumentis*: Scarce any where doth he argue more strongly than in dealing with this Heretick, whom he followeth closely, and presseth hardly every where.

Daneus in
August. de
heres. cap.
11.

Nicet. Choni-
nat. The-
saur. Orth.
fid. lib. 4.
cap. 4.

Pamel. &
Rhenan. in
argument.

Rhenan.
Ibid. Pamel.
in vita.

Rhenan. in
argument.

Augustin. de
heres. cap.
41. Daneus
in hunc lib.
cap. 36.

8. Against the *Valentinians*; who brought in and mixed their strange Platonical Fables (*crimina potius quam numina inquit Tertullianus*) with the Doctrines of Christianity, fancying no less than thirty *Æones*, (*crimina potius, &c.*) Gods, Male and Female, Born, Marrying and begotten; not unlike the Heathen Poet *Hesiod*. Errours so gross and foolish that they are altogether unworthy of a general discussion; the bare narration of them being a sufficient confutation; *etiam solummodo demonstrare, destruere est*: which therefore our Author for the most part contents himself withal, as deserving rather scorn and derision, than a serious consideration. He in this Book makes mention of *Irenæus*, who before him had written on this Subject *quem penè ad verbum est imitatus*; for it is apparent he took his relation from thence, adding little thereto, beside quips and jests.

9. Against *Praxeas*; who deny'd the Trinity of persons in the Godhead: affirming that there was no God, but the Father only; that he was born of the *Virgin Mary*, suffered upon the Cross, and was *Jesus Christ*: that Hereticks who held this opinion, as they bore the name of *Praxeani* from their Author, also of *Patripassiani* from their Errour, because they said it was God the Father that suffered. Which Heresie *Tertullian* refels, proving

fund.

undry arguments the Doctrine of the Trinity. This Book he wrote after his middle age, and when he was tainted with *Montanism*: for herein we have him speaking of the Paraclete and new Prophecie: its therefore warily to be read; *In nullo libro canticis legi debet (inquit Rhenanus) quam in eo quem adversus Praxeam scripsit, unde periculum esse possit imprudenti lectori.*

Pamel. in paradox. Tertull.

In admonit. de Tertull. dogmat.

10. Of the Souldiers crown or garland, which was written upon this occasion. A Christian Souldier coming to the Tribune to receive the Emperous donative, brought his Crown or Garland of Flowers in his hand; which the rest (as the manner was) wore on their heads: for which being question'd, he boldly alledged this reason, that he was a Christian, and therefore that it was not lawful for him to observe that Ethnick Custom: hereupon he was hal'd unto the prison to be punished. This act of his being censured by many as unadvised and needles, *Tertullian* in this Book undertakes the defence of it, proving it to be unlawful for Christians to comply with the Heathens therein: 1. From Custom and Tradition (instancing in many particulars observed by Tradition, and shewing the force of it.) 2. From Nature. 3. From the Original of wearing those Crowns, in honour of the Heathen Gods. Wherein he with much zeal opposeth whatsoever becometh not the profession of Christianity; earnestly pressing Christians unto constancy in that way, which they have entred into without tergiversation. He in this tract also discovers his *Montanism*; for, answering the cen-

Tertull. principio lib. Rhenan. in argumen.

Schætel. in Medull.

Rhenan. ibid.

Pe-kinf.
Problemat.

In Annotat.
numb 30.

Rhenan. in
argument.

Rhenan. in
annotat.
Pamel. in
annotat.

furers of the Souldier; *plane supereft, (inquirit) etiam martyria recensare meditentur, qui prophetias ejusdem Spiritus Sancti respuerunt*: it was therefore written after he was a Montanist: from whom he received all those idle Ceremonies which here he makes mention of, as the Centurists very profitably conjecture; though *Pamelius* would fain have it otherwise.

11. To the Martyrs: which Book he sent unto those that were in prison, whom he styles *Designatos*, destined unto suffering for the Testimony of Jesus; comforting, confirming, and exhorting them to constancy; shewing the commodity or benefit of a prison; that the Spirit is ready, though the Flesh be weak; and that even Heathens for vain glory have endured the utmost.

12. Of the vailing of Virgins; this he wrote as well in Greek as in Latin; which may be collected from those his first words *Proprium jam negocium passus mee opinioni. Latine quoq; ostendam, virgines nostras vel oportere*. Wherein he proves that Virgins ought to wear a veil upon their heads: that he was moved to do by a contrary custom of those of *Carthage*, whose Virgins used to come into the Congregations unveiled, that so they might the more easily get them Hands. And whereas some objected that the Apostle, *1 Cor. 11. 10*. Spake of married Women only, our Author shews that he meant of Virgins also. He concludes this Book with these words, which plainly shew it to be his: *Hec cum bonâ pace legentibus, &c.* To those who with good and peaceable minds

read these things, preferring profit before custom, peace and grace from our Lord Jesus be multiplied upon them, with *Septimius Tertullian*, whose work this is.

13. Of the habit of Women: wherein he exhorts, unto Christian modesty, wishing them to avoid excess in their apparel, and for this end to remember the condition that *Eve* hath brought them into; that evil Angels were the first inventors of strange fashions, and that gold and silver were not ordained of God for such an use. Rhenan. in argum.

14. Of the decking or adorning of women, a Book of a much like subject with the foregoing; only herein he particularly blames curiosity about their hair and skin, exhorting them not to addict themselves unto paintings, and what might set off their Beauty. Pamel. in argum.

15. Unto his Wife, two Books; wherein 1. He adviseth her, in case he should die before her, not to marry again. 2. He exhorts Christian Women to abstain from marrying with Heathens, setting down the inconveniences of such Marriages, viz. that they cannot so freely attend the Duties of Christianity; and commends those of one Christian with another, because such may have full liberty in their whole Duty, which he thus particularly sets down, *Liberè ager visitatur, indigens sustentatur, eleemosynæ sine tormento, sacrificia sine scrupulo, quotidiana diligentia sine impedimento, non furtiva signatio, non trepida gratulatio, non muta benedictio, sonant inter duos Psalmi & Hymni, & mutuo provocant, quis Deo melius canat; talia Christus videns & audiens gaudet.* Rhenan. in argum. Tertul. ad uxor. lib. 2. sub finem.

16. Of flight in time of persecution; be-

Rhenan. in
argum.

Polst. de fu-
gi in perse-
cut.

ad an. 205.
§ 15.

Rhenan. in
argum.

Rhenan. in
argum.

ing consulted by one *Fabius* a Presbyter, whether it were lawful to flee at such a time; he wrote this Treatise by way of answer, wherein he holds that in such cases a Christian ought not to flee, but rather valiantly to die for the name of Christ: and that that Precept, *Matth. 10. 23. When they shall persecute you in one City, flee ye into another, whether temporal, and concern'd that time and state of the Church only.* But (saith *Peter Martyr*) who will so diligently weigh his reasons, shall find that they have in them much more elegance than strength. This Book was also written against the Church after his desertion, the error herein maintained being one of those he had learned from *Montanus*, of which *Baronius* taxeth him somewhat tartly; *Ingenius Montanistarum (inquit) de non fugiendo nec securitatem redimendo, Tertullianus in preceptis semel infelicitate actus, edito eadem de re commentario validissime tutari conatus est, & immoderatum.*

17. Unto *Scapula* the President of *Carthage*, whom (because he threatened the Christians with utmost punishment, unless they would abjure and deny Christ) he deprecates and admonisheth not to persist in his purpose, lest he should bring the wrath of God upon himself and the whole City, as it had befallen others, whereof he giveth divers instances.

18. An exhortation to Chastity, wherein he perswadeth his Friend, who had lost his wife, to abstain from marrying again; concluding from those words, *1 Cor. 7. 29. The time is short*: That the last day was now at hand, and therefore he should forbear, as he

because of the impediment arising from marriage. Here in his heat he condemns second marriage, accounting it (as *Montanus* had done) but little better than adultery. This Book is another of those which he wrote against the Church.

1. Of once marrying, or single marriage, wherein he shews this discipline not to be new, but ancient, and peculiar unto Christians. What in the former Treatise he only perswaded, in this he magisterially enjoins, more openly condemning second marriage: they are both of the same subject, and in divers places agreeing even in the same words. This is the fifth of those Books which he wrote against the Church after his defection.

*Sculter. in
Medull.*

*Rhenan. in
argum.*

*Panel. in
viti.
Hieronym.
in catalog.*

20. Of the Cloak; written upon this occasion, when *Tertullian* had laid aside his Gown (the Roman Weed) and taken on a Cloak, as more becoming Christian Simplicity, he was by one branded with the note of inconstancy: hereupon (in vindication of himself) he writes this Book, therein shewing the antiquity and commodious use of the Cloak. This being the Garment of the Greeks, which they were wont to cast over their other Garments: hence it came to pass, that by way of reproach, the Christians using it, were called Grecians; and when they went abroad, they commonly heard this nickname or taunt, *ὁ γρεκινὸς ἐπιδήμιος* alluding unto their Garment. Also because of the simplicity or meanness both of it and those that used it, it grew into contempt; and it became a Proverb among the Carthaginians, *a togâ ad palium*, from the Gown to the

*Rhenan. in
argum.*

Cloak, noting the change from a more eminent to a meaner estate and condition, from riches to poverty.

Pamel. in
argum.

Tertul. de
t. s. animaz.

21. Of the testimony of the Soul: wherein by a *prosopopœa* he fetcheth arguments from the Soul it self, even of Ethnicks, whereby he convinceth them of their Atheism and abominable Idolatries: among the rest, from those speeches frequent in the mouths of such as are not Christians, *e. g. Si Deus voluerit, Deus bonus est, benedicat te Deus, Deus videt omnia, Deo commendo, Deus reddet, Deus inter nos judicabit, &c.* His last words in this Treatise are remarkable, which are these, *Mortuū igitur omnis anima reā & testis est, in tantum & rea erroris, in quantum testis veritatis, & stabit ante aulā Dei die judicii nihil habens dicere: Deum predicabas & non requirebas; Demonia abominabaris, & illa adorabas; judicium Dei appellabas, nec esse credebas; inferna supplicia presumebas, & non precavebas; Christianum nomen sapiebas, & Christianum persequeris.*

Seufret. in
Medull.

22. Of the Soul: wherein he handles divers questions; and discusseth many controversies with the Philosophers about the essence, operations, adjuncts and various state of the Soul: which he would have to be corporeal, endued with form and figure, and to be propagated and derived from the substance of the Father to the body of the Son, and engendred with the body, encreasing and extending it self together with it; and many other the like dreams he hath, in the maintaining whereof, he useth so much subtilty, strength of reason and eloquence, as that they ate the words

words of the learned *Daille*) you will hardly meet with, throughout the whole stock of Antiquity, a more excellent and more elegant piece than this Book of his: yet was it composed by him when he was turned Cataphrygian. Hence *Bellarmino* having made use of a passage taken from hence for the proof of Purgatory, the most Reverend *Usher* thus replies, he must give us leave (saith he) to put him in mind with what spirit *Tertullian* was lead when he wrote that Book *de animâ*, and with what authority he strengtheneth that conceit of mens paying in Hell for their small faults before the Resurrection; namely, of the Paraclete, by whom, if he mean *Montanus* the Arch-Heretick (as there is small cause to doubt that he doth) we need not much envy the Cardinal for raising up so worshipful a Patron of his Purgatory.

Treatise of the right use of the Fathers, lib. 2. cap. 4. Lord Digby's second Letter.

In his answer to the Jesuits challenge.

cap. ult. de animâ.

23. Of Spectacles or Plays, written (as *Pamelinus* conceives) in the twelfth year of *Severus* the Emperour, in which were exhibited unto the people those plays that were called *Ludi seculares*, because they were presented only once in an age or an hundred years, unto which therefore the people were solemnly invited by a publick cry made in these words, *Convenite ad ludos spectandos, quos neque spectavit quisquam, neque spectaturus est*: Come ye unto those Spectacles which no man now behold, or shall behold again. Hereupon *Tertullian* in this Book (which he wrote both in Greek and Latine) makes it evident that these plays had their original from idolatry, and were full of all kind of cruelty and obscenity, and that therefore it was utterly unlawful for Christians to behold them, and that

Pamelin. in vita Tertul.

Briffon. de formul. li. 8.

Baron. ad an.
206. § 4.

Pamel. in an-
notat. num. I.

that they should provoke the truth of God against them, should they not fear to be present at them. Therefore *Constantine* the Great did by a law prohibit the setting forth and frequenting of such kind of plays. And herein our Author doth so largely treat of the several sorts of play which then were wont to be made use of, that a curious Reader needs no other commentary fully to acquaint himself with those Antiquities.

Tertul. de
baptism.

Pamel. in
argum.
Sculdet. in
Medul.

24. Of Baptism, against *Quintilla* one of the Disciples of *Montanus*, who denyed or took away Baptism by water; of whom he scoffingly thus speaks, *Optimè novit pisciculos necare, de aquâ auferens*. He therefore proves, that it is not an empty or idle Ceremony, but of great force and virtue, setting down the form and manner, together with the Rites observed by the Ancients in the administration thereof, and resolves divers questions about it. This also was written both in Greek and Latine.

In annot. in
hunc lib.

Advers. Vi-
gilant.

25. *Scorpiacum*, a Book against the Gnosticks; so called from one *Scorpianus* an Heretick, against whom particularly it was intended, saith *Pamelius*: but more probably from the nature of it, being an antidote against the bite and sting of the *Scorpion*, to which purpose *Jerom* thus speaks, *Scribit adversum heresim tuam, quæ olim erupit contra Ecclesiam (ne & in hoc quasi repertor novi sceleris gloriaris) Tertullianus vir eruditissimus, insignis volumen, quod Scorpiacum vocat rectissima nomine, quia arcuato vulnere in Ecclesie corpus venena diffudit, quæ olim appellabatur Cains Heresis, & multo tempore dormiens, vel sepulta*

sepulta, nunc à dormitatio suscitata est. These Hereticks vilified Martyrdom, teaching that it was not to be undergone, because God would not the death of a Sinner, and Christ had died that we might not die. By this Doctrine they did much harm to many weak ones in the Church, who, to save themselves, would deny Christ and offer incense. Against these *Tertullian* herein opposeth himself, proving Martyrdom to be good, and setting forth the excellency thereof by many examples. And in thus doing he deserved well, had he not (unhappy man) ran afterwards into the other extreme of the *Montanists*, who magnified Martyrdom too much (denying the lawfulness of flight to avoid danger in that case) as these did too much undervalue it.

Baron. ad an. 205. § 19.
This was also the Doctrine of Basilides the Heretick. See Origen. Tom. 2. in Math. Tract. 28.

26. Of Idolatry, written about the same time, with his Book *de spectaculis*; wherein, being desirous to take away all kind of idolatry, lest Christians should longer labour under gross ignorance herein; he shews the original of it, and how many ways (and not only in the worshipping of Idols) they may be guilty of it, all which they ought to beware of and avoid, and not to comply with Idolaters in their Festivals, Solemnities and such like observations.

Pamel. in vita Tertul.

Pamel. in argum.

Sculcet. in Medul.

27. Of Chastity, which was written upon this occasion; *Zephyrinus* Bishop of Rome having published an Edict, in which he gave notice unto all the faithful, that the Catholick Church receives such as repent, though they had fallen into the sins of Fornication and Adultery: *Tertullian* herein opposeth him, as may be gathered from his own words: I do

Baron. ad an. 216. § 3.
In hoc libro est vehementior.

Lib. de pudicit. cit. paulo post initium.

hear

Veteres boni
omnis
causal Boni
facti præfari
solebant in
edictis. Tur-
neb. adversa.
l. 3. c. 22.
Sculter. in
Medull.

Epist. Da-
mas. num.
146.
Math. 9. 6.

hear, saith he, that there is an Edict published, and that a præemptory one: *Pontifex scilicet maximus Episcopus Episcoporum, dicit: ego & mæchie & fornicationis delicta penitentia functis dimitto. O edictum, cui adscribi non poterit Bonum factum.* — *Erit ergo & hic adversus Psychicos*: so he used to call the Orthodox after he became a *Montanist*. And herein he undertakes to answer all the arguments brought for this practice; denying that such ought to be received. *Jerom* saith that he wrote this book against repentance, and wonders at the man that he should think those publicans and sinners with whom Christ did eat, to be Gentiles and not Jews, the better to defend his error, weakly grounding his opinion upon that in *Deut. 23. non erit pendens veltigal ex filiis Israel*. This book he wrote against the Church.

Dame. in ad-
notat.
See Rhenan.
annot. in lib.
Tertul. ad-
vers. Praxen
Sculter. in
Medul.

Baron. ad
an. 201. § 14.

28. Of Fasting, against the *Psychici*: So, as we have said, he contumeliously calls the Orthodox; accounting those to be carnal, who rejected the prophesie of *Montanus*, and those only spiritual (alluding unto, *1 Cor. 2.*) who received and embraced it. Herein he defends the set Fasts and Stations observed by the *Montanists*. Of the name *Psychicus*, *Baronius* gives us this account. *Ignominie causa Orthodoxos Psychicos nominare, fuit (ut autor est Ireneus. lib. 1. cap. 1.) Valentini hæresiarche inventum, qui Psychicos nominabat homines qui non essent, sicut ipse, ut aiebat, spirituales. Transiit vox eadem ad Cataphrygas, qui æque omnes non suscipientes Paracletum, Psychicos appellabant.*

29. Of prayer; which Hilary calls, *volu-
men aptissimum*; wherein he commendeth and
commenteth upon the Lords Prayer, adding
somewhat of the adjuncts of prayer. The
title and subject hereof seem to intimate
that it was a mistake in *Sixtus Senensis*, to
imagine that he wrote two books upon this
subject, one whereof he intitles *in orationem
dominicam*, the other *de oratione*.

Comment.
in Math.
Sculptet. in
Medul.

Biblioth.
sanct. l. 4.

30. An Apology against the Gentiles in the
behalf of the Christians; wherein he notably
and at large defends their innocency, clearing
them of the crimes falsely charged upon
them, and fully evincing the groundlessness
of the adversaries hatred to, and unjust pro-
ceedings against them; imitating herein
Justin and *Aristides* who had undertaken the
same task before him, who yet he far tran-
scends, both in sharpness of wit and soundness
of Learning: how boldly doth he stand up
against the Gentiles? how constantly main-
tain the purity of our faith? what Authors
doth he not read? which of their disciplines
doth he not touch? so that this book alone
is abundantly sufficient to convince the per-
tinacy of the Gentiles? It contains in it
(saith *Jerom*) *cunctam seculi disciplinam*:
wherein he is more elegant than ordinary:
the strength whereof was such, that in likely-
hood it was the thing that prevail'd to the
mitigation of the enemies fury, and, in some
measure, the cessation of the persecution
then raised against the Christians. It was
written by him, as both *Pamelius* and *Baro-
nius* conjecture, in the seventh year of the
Emperor *Severus*, *An. Christi* 201. Of the
excel-

This was
written by
him in the
Latine
Tongue, saith
Nicephorus,
l. 2. c. 8. but
translated
into Greek.

Pamel. in
argument.

In Epist. ad
Magnum. 84
Zephyr. in
argument.

Pamel. in vi-
ta Testal.

Ibid.

Baro. ad an.
201. § 37.

De heret.
lib. 18.

excellency hereof Prateolus thus speaks; *proculdubio, inquit, verum est; quum acris & ardentis ingenii non ferens gentilium insolentiam atq; savitiam quâ in Christianos ferebantur omnes ingenii sui nervos in eorum defensionem intendit, incomparabiles interim eruditionis & eloquentie sue opes ibi ostendans.*

In prolego.
ante notas
in l. Tertul.
ad nationes.

31. *Ad nationes; libri duo*: set forth and published singly, by *Jacobus Cothofredus, J.C.* which by divers arguments he would prove to be *Tertullians*; also that they were written before his *Apologetick*, as a *Prodrome* or preparatory to it; as his book *de testimonio animæ* followed after and was added as a third way whereby he attempted the Gentiles, viz. by testimonies drawn from the soul, and by those forms of speech, wherein they named God in common use among them. He also shews it to differ from his *Apologetick*, because in these books he directs himself unto the Nations in general; but in that, only unto the Governors and Presidents of the Roman Empire: besides, these are purely *Elendical*, wherein he undertakes not to defend the cause of the Christians (as in the other he doth) but reproves the iniquity of the Nations against the Christians, and shews the vanity of the Gentile Gods. *Jerom* mentions these books *contra gentes*, as distinct from his *Apology*: *quid, inquit, Tertullianus eruditius? quid acutius? Apologeticus ejus, & contra gentes libri cunctiam sæculi continent Disciplinam.*

Epist. ad
Magnū, 24.
Novatianus
scripsit de
clbis Judæ-
cis. Honor.
Augusto du-
cent. descrip.
Eccles. also,
Hieronym.
in catalog.
Sculcet. in
Medul.

Of these following, it is doubted whether they be his or no.

1. An Epistle, concerning Judaical meats: wherein he shews that the difference between clean and unclean meats enjoined unto the Jews, is taken away and abolished under the Gospel. *Pamelius* thinks this Epistle to be none of his, but rather *Novatians*, whose name therefore he prefixeth to it, thus, *Novatiani Romana Ecclesie presbyteri de cibis Judaicis epistola*. It seems (saith *Bellarmino*) to have been sent by some Bishop unto his own people; but *Tertullian* was no Bishop: yet I determine nothing. Both the *Stile* (saith *Rivet*) and the Texts of Scripture otherwise Translated then in *Tertullian*; as also that the Author remembers his withdrawing in the time of persecution; (which *Tertullian* is every where against) plainly shew it to be none of his.

Pamel. edit. Tertull.

In catalog. script.

Critic. Sac.

2. Of the Trinity: concerning which *Ruffin* and others do report that certain of the *Macedonian* Hereticks, who were *πυδ-ματομαχοι*, finding somewhat in *Tertullians* book of the Trinity which was for their advantage inserted it among the Epistles of *Cyprian*, causing them to be dispersed about *Constantinople* and sold at a low rate, that so being the more bought up and read, what was unsound therein might be the sooner embraced for the Authority of so great an Author, by which means, as they supposed, their cause would be credited and promoted. But (saith *Jerom*) there is no such matter; for that book of the Trinity is neither *Tertullians* nor *Cyprians*, but *Novatians*; as both by the title and propriety of the stile doth evidently appear; *characterem alium & genus dicendi*

Ruffin. in apolog. pro Origin. Pamel. in argument. Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. L. 4.

In Apolog. advers. Ruff.

Rivet:
Crit. Sac.
In Catalog.
Parker. de
descen. l. 4.
§ 10.

Pamel. in
frag. Tertul.

In Catalog.
script. &
controvers.
de Christo.
l. i. c. 10.

Pamel. in
argument.

Cent. 3. l. 10.

In Medul.

Boston ad
an. 116. § 19

Rhenar. in
argument.

dicendi nitidius in eo notat Laurentius. Hence *Jerom* speaking of *Novatian*: He wrote, saith he, *grande volumen*, a great volum of the Trinity, making as it were, an Epitome of *Tertullians* work upon this subject, which many ignorantly think to be *Cyprians*: this piece of *Novatians* exceeding in bulk that of *Tertullians* now extant, it must needs refer unto some book of his on that subject, now wanting; unless we will make (which is absurd) the Epitome to be larger then the book it self, whose compend it is. *Bellarmino* supposeth it to be beyond all doubt, that this book is none of *Tertullians*, because the heresie of *Sabellius* (which began almost an hundred years after *Tertullians* time) is therein by name refuted, with whom *Pamelius* accords, adding this as another reason of his confidence, that the Author in the sixth Chapter denieth Corporeal Lineaments in God, which *Tertullian* more then once affirms. How ever it be; it is a learned and elegant book; (though yet there are some things to be found in it, not agreeable to the Christian Faith) and I conclude, saith *Sculetus*, that whoever was the Author, it is written according to the genius of *Tertullian*, and therefore deservedly set forth under his name; seeing it agrees so well with that Noble work of his against *Praxeas*. *Baronius* tells us, that those of the Eastern Church did receive it as the legitimate writing of *Tertullian*.

3. Of Repentance: wherein he discourseth of the excellency and utility thereof: persuading to beware of recidivation and returning

turning unto sin again after repentance: particularly directing himself unto the *Catechumens*, who for that they believed their sins would be all blotted out and wash'd away in Baptism, were not so careful, as they should have been, to abstain from it. *Est autem hic commentarius ejusmodi, ut theologi cum debeant ad unguem ediscere: nam egregium monumentum est antiquitatis; tam sancte docet, tam pie suadet, tam instanter urget rem ecclesiasticæ discipline summo opere necessariam.* In the argument of this book *Rhenanus* that expert Antiquary & *solertissimus Tertulliani interpres*, hath spoken so much and so freely against the Auricular Confession of the Romish Synagogue, (*crudelis illa conscientiarum carnificina*, that cruel rack of consciences) that the Council, or rather that politick and pack'd Conventicle of *Trent*, took order that the most part of it should be expunged, as unskilful, rash, false, heretical, and otherways scandalous: as, they did also, by somewhat contained in the argument of his book *de carne Christi*; because it suited not with their Doctrine of the perfection of the *Virgine Mary*; a short way, were it as false and honest, to make all sure. But this book also, in the judgment of the quick-sighted *Erasmus*, grounded upon the difference of the stile from that of *Tertullian*, is none of his but of some other, very studious in our Author, and living about the same time: to whom *Rhenanus* subscribes, though the author use many words and figures, agreeable to and borrowed from *Tertulian*. I am of opinion, saith *Daille*, that both the birth and

Ibid.

Scitret. in
Medall.

Index ex-
purgat. per
Francisc.
Junium.

Cent. 3. c. 3.
Rivet. Crit.
Sac.

In argument.

Treat. of the
use of the
Fathers part.
I. cap 3.
In argum. ad
an. 216.
§ 18.

fortune of that piece *de penitentiâ* hath been, if not the very same, yet at least not much unlike that of the Trinity; though *Pamelius* and *Baronius* be of another mind, and would fain it should be his.

4. His Poems; which are diverse according to *Pamelius*, viz.
Pamel. Edit. Tom 4.

1. Against *Marcion* 5. books.
2. Of the Judgement of the Lord.
3. *Genesis*.
4. *Sodom*.

Biblioth.
Patr. Tom. 8.

Prefat. in
Tom. 4.

5. His Poem to a Senator that turned from the Christian Religion to the service of Idols. But should we reject them all as Apocryphal (seeing neither *Jerom* nor *Eusebius* make any mention of them) together with *Juret's*, *Jonab* and *Nineveh* (notwithstanding the Authority of his old Manuscript) I suppose that neither our Authour nor the Commonwealth of Learning would at all be injured hereby. *Pamelius* tells us, that in his Edition of *Cyprian's* works he had entituled them unto him as the composer of them; but thinks it not amiss to follow the censure of *Sixtus Senensis* who ascribes the Poem of *Sodom* unto *Tertullian*, induced hereunto by the fidelity (as he supposeth) of some Manuscripts: and because the stile is the same with that of the other, he concludes that all three were his, viz. *Genesis*, *Sodoma* & *ad Senatorem*. A weak ground for him to change his mind, and build such confident conclusions upon, as well may we deny them to be either *Tertullians* or *Cyprians*, and so leave him to seek a Father for them.

§ 4. For his stile and manner of writing, he hath a peculiar way of his own, *saus quidam est character*, saith Erasmus: sufficiently elegant; *ejus opuscula eloquentissimè scripta*, inquit Augustinus; *eloquentiâ admodum polens est*: full of gravity, and becoming a Learned man; *creber est in sententiis, sed difficilis in loquendo*: very sententious, and of much strength and vehemency, but hard, difficult and too elaborate: *varius est* (inquit Rhenanus) *in phrasi; in disputationibus dilucidior & simplicior, in locis communibus, velut de pallio, &c. est durior & affectatior*, Not so smooth and fluent as many others, and therefore not in so much esteem as otherwise he might have been. His expressions, (saith Calvin) are somewhat rough and thorny, and therefore dark and obscure, *certè magis stridet quàm loquitur, idem in Epist. 339. Phrascos Character* (inquit Zephyrus) *minùs semper comptus, multùmque brevis & obscurus fuisse videtur. Commata enim potius habet quàm cola, & frequentes periodos, qualia decent gravi vehementique stilo, quo semper ipse usus est*. So that, *durè & Tertullianicè loqui*, to speak harshly, and like Tertulian are equivalent phrases. And the causes whence this proceeded might be chiefly these four.

In Epist. ante Hilat. de heresca. 86. Nicephor. Hieronym. Epist. 13. Sixt. Senens. lib. 4.

In vitâ Ter.

Lactant. inst. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Instit. lib. 2. cap. 13. § 22.

In argum. in Apologetic.

Cassiod. exercitat. facundia ejus fetrea.

1. His Country, being an *African*, of the City of *Carthage*, which was a Province of the *Roman Empire*: Now those that were Provincials, scarce any of them could attain unto the purity of the *Latin Tongue*, except such only as were brought up at *Rome* from their child-hood: as was *Terence*, our *Author's Country-man*, *Romam perductus, cum*

Erasm. Ep. ante Hilat.

Pet Crinitus, lib. 1. de poetis Lat.

De honest. disciplin. li. 8. cap 3.

Lib. 2.

Lib. de tradend. discip.

Epist. ante Hilar.

Epist. 3. ad Heliodor.

Pamel. in vitâ Tertul. Brerewoods Inquiries cap 4.

in tenerâ etate foret, comedias sex composuit, easque ab Apollodoro & Menandro Poetis Græcis in Sermone Latinum convertit, tantâ Sermone elegantia & proprietate, ut eruditorum judicio nihil perfectius aut absolutius in eo scribendi genere habitum sit apud Latinos: Cicero in Epist. ad Atticum refert Terentium esse optimum autorem Latinitatis. The same Author elsewhere speaking of the difference in this language among those living in several Countries, thus observes: *Romani omnes* (inquit) *in suo genere, pressi, elegantes & proprii: Hispani autem florentes, acuti & qui ad peregrinum inclinent: Punici & Carthaginienses, duri, audaces, improbi: palam aberrantes vitium virtuti prætulērunt: ut Tertullianus, Apuleius, & Cyprianus.* It's also the observation of Loys le Roy, in his discourse of the variety of things: Every thing, saith he, by how much the farther it is from its original spring, is the less pure, as the *Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans*, did not speak Latin so purely as the *Romans*, for although their words were Latin, yet they retained the phrase of their own Country: insomuch, that speaking Latin they were always known for Strangers. *Perturbatissime loquitur Tertullianus* (inquit Ludovicus Vives) *ut Afer.* And in the decrees of the *Africans* (many whereof *Augustin* relates) you may perceive (saith *Erasmus*) an anxious affectation of eloquence, yet so as that you may know them to be *Africans*. 'Tis no wonder then *Jerom* should say, that the stile of *Tertulian* and also of other *Africans*, was easily discerned by *Nepotian*: and it appeareth by *Augustin* in sundry places, that the *Roman* Tongue

Tongue was imperfect among the *Africans*, even in the Colonies.

2. His calling and profession: for before his conversion he had studied and practised the Law: wherein he was very skilful: hence it comes to pass, that using many Law terms (*& juris verborum erat retinentissimus*) and phrases borrowed from thence, his Language comes to be more perplex and obscure. It's apparent (saith *Danens*) from his continual stile and manner of speaking, that he was a most expert Lawyer, and by reason of the unusual novelty of his words, his stile is very obscure, saith *Sixtus Senensis*.

Pamel. Inad-
not. in lib. de
prescript.
num. 1.
Pamel. in vi-
ta Tertul.
In Aug. de
hæres. c. 82.

Biblioth.
sancti. lib. 4.

3. His constitution and natural temper, for words are the mind's Interpreters, and the clothing of its conceptions, wherein they go abroad, which therefore are in a great measure fashioned by it and receives a tincture from it. Hence it is that most Mens stiles do differ as well as their faces: *suius cuique stilus est* (*inquit Erasmus*) *& quisque suum quendam habet gustum peculiarem*: every one hath somewhat peculiar to him in this particular. Accordingly our Author, being a Man, *acris & vehementis Ingenii*, of a rough, sharp, and vehement spirit, makes use of a stile answerable, viz. quick and crabbed, and consequently harsh and obscure: which he did of purpose, affecting it as most agreeable to his Genius; so that his expressions are such even in things that are plain and easie. This *Rhenanus* renders, as the reason why his writings had so many faults, or Errataes in them, viz. *neglectus auctoris, quo multis annis non est lectum manibus tribus, & ipsum dicendi genus*

Novator vo-
cabulorum
Tertullianus
Pamel. in ad-
not. in lib. de
prescript.
num. 125. &
Rhenan. in
annot. in lib.
eundem.
Epist. ante
Hilar.

Hieronym. in
catal.
duri ingenii.
Baron ad an.
197. § 19.

Pamel. in F.
pist. dedicat.
Rhenan. in
argum. lib.
ad erf. Va-
lentin.
In præfat.
ante Tertul.

Bond. in E-
pist. ad lecto-
rem.

*affectatum & Africanum (& affectati stili duri-
ties molestiam addit) quod etiam magis effecit,
ut minùs legeretur, quàm quidvis aliud.* Which
betided the Poet Persius, qui consultò est obscu-
rus, suisque scriptis caliginem & tenebras ex
industriali objecit: for being by one taken in
hand, and perceived to be so dark and cloudy,
he was fairly laid aside with such like words
as these: *Si nolit intelligi, non legetur.*

In annot. in
Hib. Tertul.
advers. Va-
lentin.

4. His converse in the Greek Authors
whom he diligently read, being very skilful in
that Tongue, *idenim temporis nihil extabat*
(*inquit Rhenanus*) *apud Latinos in sacris,*
præter testamentum utrumque, tantum Victor
& Apollonius scripserant opuscula: hence it is,
that transcribing much from them, he retains
their phrases: (though he quote not his Au-
thors; which was the manner of the first a-
ges, viz. to cite none by name, but the sacred
Scriptures only; especially if they had drawn
the Water out of the Wells of the Greeks)
and imitates their manner of speaking. By
his assiduous perusal of their Books, (saith Pa-
melius) *adeò Græcas loquendi formulas imbi-
bit, ut etiam Latine scribens illarum oblivisci*
nequiret: he so drank in their forms of speech,
that when he comes to write in Latin, he cannot
forget them: and both himself and Rhenanus
have taken notice of many phrases in him,
which he borrows from the Greeks, and
wherein he conforms unto them.

Hoc erat il-
lius ætatis
præter S.
Scripturas
nemineum
nominatim
citare Eras-
mum. ante
Hilar.
In vita Ter-
tul.

Rhenan. in
annot. in lib.
advers. Va-
lentin.

Hib. r. cap. 5.

Most of these, I find observed by that
Learned French-man Mr. John Daille, in his
choice Treatise concerning the right use of
the Fathers. What shall I say (saith he) of
Terentian, who besides his natural harshness
and

and roughness which you meet with in him throughout, and that *Carthaginian* spirit and genius, which is common to him with the rest of the *African* writers, hath yet shadowed and over-cast his conceptions with so much learning, and with so many new terms and passages out of the Law, and with such variety of all visions, subtilties and nice points, as that the greatest stock both of learning and attention that you can bring with you, will be all little enough to fit you for a perfect understanding of him.

§ 5. This father is full fraught with and abounds in grave and excellent sentences; some few whereof I shall here insert; which may serve a little to acquaint us with the state of those times in reference unto both the Doctrine and Discipline then professed and practised in the Churches of Christ.

1. Take a view of his Symbol or Creed, containing a summary of the faith which was generally received and maintained in his time: Altogether one, the only immoveable and irreformable rule, as he styles it: which is this. To believe that there is but one God, nor he any other beside the Creator of the world, who made all things of nought, by his word, first of all sent forth: *Colos. 1. 16, 17.* That word to be call'd his Son; in the name of God variously seen by the Patriarchs: always heard by the Prophets; last of all brought down, by the Spirit of God the Father, and Power, into the Virgin Mary, made flesh in her womb, and of her born a man, and that he is Jesus Christ;

Lib. de ve-
land. virg. l.
de prescrip.
adver. heres.
prim. omnium
emissum.

De latum.

Vicariis vim
Sp. Sancti.
qui agat.

Facta utri-
usque partis
resuscitati-
one.

moreover that he preached a new law, and a new promise of the Kingdom of Heaven: that he wrought or did wonders, was fastned to the Cross, arose the third day; that being taken up into heaven, he sat down on the right of the Father; sent the power of the Ghost in his stead, that he might guide or act believers: that he shall come in glory to take the Saints into the fruition of eternal life, and heavenly promises, and to adjudge the wicked unto perpetual fire; a resurrection of each part being made with the restitution of the flesh. This rule instituted by Christ, as shall be proved, hath no question made of it among us, but which Heresies bring in, and which makes Hereticks.

A compend or brief hereof is to be seen in the beginning of his book of the veiling of Virgins, as also in that against *Praxeas* the Heretick: unto which he subjoyns these words. This Law of Faith remaining, other things that concern discipline and conversation, do admit of a newness of Correction; the grace of God working and making a proficiency unto the end. So that where there is a consent in the fundamental and substantial truths of the Gospel, differences in things of less moment may be born with, nor should they cause divisions among Christians. That rule holding here, that *Opinionum varietas & opinantium unitas non sunt contraria*. He adds, that this rule hath ran down from the beginning of the Gospel, even before any heresie sprung up; insomuch as from hence this appears to be a firm Truth; *id esse verum*

Lib. advers.
Prax.

quod

quodcumq; primum, id esse adulterum, quodcumq; posterius.

Again, The Church acknowledgeth one God, Creatour of the universe: and Jesus Christ, of the Virgine *Mary*, the Son of God the Creator; and the resurrection of the flesh: it minglcth the Law and the Prophets, with the Evangelical and Apostolical writings; and from thence drinks in that faith. It signs with water, clotheth with the holy Ghost (which *Pamelius* understands of confirmation) feeds with the Eucharist, exhorteth with Martyrdom; and so receives none against this institution.

*De prescript.
potat.
Pamel. in
notis.
Martyrio
exhortatur.*

2. He prescribes and lays down this for a sure rule, by which the truth may be known, viz. If the Lord Jesus Christ did send out the Apostles to Preach, other Preachers are not to be received then those whom Christ did institute: because neither doth any other know the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son hath revealed him; neither doth the Son seem to have revealed him unto any others, save to the Apostles whom he sent to Preach. Now what they have preached, (i.e. what, Christ revealed to them) ought no other way to be proved, then by the same Churches which the Apostles themselves founded; preaching unto them as well by a lively voice, as they say, as afterward by Epistles. If these things be so, it is then evident, that every Doctrine which agrees with the faith of those Apostolical, Mother and Original Churches, is to be accounted the truth; undoubtedly holding that which the Churches received from the Apostles, the Apo-

Lib. de prescript.

Apostles from Christ, Christ from God: but all other Doctrine to be adjudged false, which savoureth contrary unto the truth of the Churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ, and of God.

In Apolog.
quali manu
facta ambia-
mus.

Pro statu
seculi. pro
morâ finis.

Denſamus.

3. As touching their Church Meetings at that time, and the exercises about which in them they were imployed, he gives us this account. We come together, saith he, into the congregation, that we may as it were with an Army; besiege God without prayers; which violence is pleasing unto God. We pray for the Emperors and for their Ministers and inferior powers, for the state of the world for the peaceable condition of affairs, and for the delay of the end. We are assembled for the rehearsal of the Divine Scriptures, if the quality of the present times doth need any thing by way of Premonition or recognition. Surely with the holy Word do we feed our faith, raise up our hope, settle our affiance, nevertheless we do strengthen the discipline with inculcation of precepts: There are also exhortations, castigations, and the Divine censure: and judgment is past with a great deal of weight and authority; as among those who are certain of the presence, or inspection, of God: and it is the highest prognostick of the judgment to come for one so to offend, as to be cast out or removed from Communion of Prayer, and our assemblies, and all holy Commerce. Approved Elders are Presidents who have attained this honour not by price but testimony. Every one brings some small piece of mony to the chest if he can, one day in a month, or when he will:

for

for no man is compell'd, but gives freely. This is, as it were a pious *depositum*; for it is not laid out in feasts, or gluttony or gormundizing; but for the feeding and interring of the poor; and for Boys and Girls that are destitute of Estate and Parents; also for such as are aged, and for such as have suffered shipwrack: and for any who are condemned unto the Mines, are banished into Islands, or are in Prison, &c.

4. Of their Love feasts, thus; Of how great cost soever they be 'tis gain to be at expence for pieties sake; seeing that the needy are holpen by this refreshing. No baseness or immodesty is admitted; they sit not down till prayer to God be first made: they eat as much as hungry ones use to take, to satisfie their hunger only: they drink as much as is meet for sober men to do: they are so filled, as who remember, they must even in the night worship God: they so discourse as those who know that God hears. After water for the hands is brought, as any one is able from the holy Scriptures, or of his own invention, he is invited to sing unto God in the midst of all: hence it appeareth how hath he drank: likewise prayer concludes the feast.

In Apolog.

Pragustetur

5. We pray with our hands stretched out, because innocent; with our heads uncovered, because we blush not; lastly, without a Monitor, because from our brest or heart.

In Apolog.

6. The power of casting out Divels continued unto his time; for hereof he thus speaks. The Devils by our touch and breathing do unwillingly grieving and blushing (because you

In Apolog.
& lib. ad
Scapulam.

you Gentiles are present) depart out of the bodies, which they possessed.

In Apolog.

7. Afflict, torment, condemn, break us in pieces; your iniquity is the trial of our innocency: therefore doth God permit that we should suffer these things. — Your exquisite cruelty, speaking to the persecutors of the Christians, will avail nothing at all: it is rather an allurements unto our Sect: we become the more, the oftner we are cut down by you; the blood of Christians is seed; that very obstinacy which you upbraid us withal is a mystery; for who is not moved by beholding it, to inquire, what is in the matter? who having inquired, comes not unto us? and coming, desires not to suffer? &c.

Lib. de resurrectione carn.

8. Take away from Hereticks those things which they hold with Ethnicks, that they may ground their questions upon the Scriptures only; and they are not able to stand. — Again; we need no curiosity after Jesus Christ, nor inquisition after the Gospel; when once we believe it, we desire to believe nothing else; for this is the first thing that we believe, that there is nothing more which we ought to believe.

In Apolog.

9. The greatest Antiquity challengeth the chiefest Authority unto the Sacred Scriptures or Instruments: the Cabinet of one Prophet, viz. Moses, for age surpasseth all your Originals; the veins of your ancient stile, the most Nations, your famous Cities, the very effigies of your Letters, yea even your very Gods themselves, their Temples, Oracles and Sacred Rites.

10. Of the sufficiency and perfection of the Scriptures ; *adoro scripturæ plenitudinem* ; I do adore, saith he, the fulness of the Scripture.

Lib. advers.
Hermogen.

11. He hath a most elegant resemblance of mans body unto the earth out of which it was taken : what is the blood, saith he, but a red humor ? what is the flesh ; but earth turned into its figures ? consider the several qualities ; the muscles as clods ; the bones as rocks or stones ; also about the Paps, certain pebbles ? Behold, the firm connexion of the nerves, as the traductions of roots ; and the branchy running about of the veins as the windings of the rivers : the down, as moss ; the hair as grass ; and the hidden treasures of the marrow, as the metals of the flesh.

Lib. de carn.
Christ.

Glebz, saxa,
calculi.

12. He gives us a lively draught or pour-traiture of the grace of Patience, together with a large encomium of it from the admirable force and excellent fruits thereof : in these words : It fenceth faith, helpeth love, armeth or instructeth humility, governs the flesh, secures the spirit, bridles the tongue, binds the hand, tramples upon temptations, drives away scandals, consummates Martyrdom. It comforts the poor, moderates the rich, it delights the believer, and invites the Gentile ; it commends the servant unto the Master, and the Master unto God ; it adorns the wife, and approves the husband, it is lovely in a child, laudable in a youth, and admired in the aged ; it is amiable in every sexe and age. The patient man he thus describeth ; he hath a serene and pleasant countenance,

Lib. de pa-
tient.

Remissa.

tenance, a smooth forehead, not furrowed with any wrinkle of grief or anger: his eyebrows alike remiss in a chearful manner: his eyes cast down through humility, not adversity; his mouth sealed up with the honour of silence; his colour such as is that of secure and harmless ones; the motion of his head frequent against the Devil, and a threatening laughter; the attire about his breast candid and close to his body; as of one who is neither puffed up, nor disquieted.

Lib. de resurrectione.

Fidelissimum sequentem dei & hominum.

Seponitur.

Lib. de spectaculo.

13. The Flesh shall rise again, even all, the same, and the whole: For it is every where deposited with God, by the most faithful Mediator between God and Men, Jesus Christ, who shall restore both God to Man, and Man to God, the Spirit to the Flesh, and the Flesh to the Spirit. For that which thou supposest to be the destruction thereof, know 'tis but a departure. Not only the soul is separated or laid aside; the Flesh also in the interim hath its receptacles in the Waters, Fires, Fowls, Beasts. When it seems to be dissolved into these, it is, as it were, poured into Vessels; if also the Vessels themselves shall fail, when it flits out of them, it is, as it were, by certain windings swallowed up & again into its Mother Earth.

14. If thou wouldest spend the time of thy life in pleasures, why art thou so ungrateful, as not to acknowledge and account sufficient, so many and such pleasures as are afforded thee of God? For what is more than reconciliation with God the Father, than the Revelation of the Truth, than a calling

calling to remembrance of our Errour, than the pardon of so many sins past? What greater pleasure than the loathing of pleasure it self? than the contempt of the whole World? than true Liberty, than a sound or good Conscience, than a sufficient Life, then no fear of death? that thou tramplest upon the Gods of the Nations, that thou castest out Devils, that thou dost Cures, that thou co- vetest Revelations, that thou livest unto God?

*Vita suffi-
ciens.*

15. How shall I be able to declare the happiness of that Marriage, which the Church knits together, the oblation confirms, the Angels reports it sealed, the Father ratifies? For neither on Earth do Children rightly marry without the consent of their Parents. What a match is that of two Believers, of one hope, one vow, one discipline, the same service? Both Brethren, both Fellow-servants, no difference of Spirit or Flesh; but truly two in one Flesh: where the Flesh is one, and the Spirit one: they pray together, they are humbled and fast together, leading and exhorting one another: in distresses and refreshments neither concealeth, avoideth, or is grievous unto the other: the sick is freely visited, the poor sustained; alms are without torment, sacrifices without scruple, (*i. e.* offerings for Ministers and the Poor) signing (*viz.* with the cross) is not by stealth, greeting not with trembling, nor benediction mute: Psalms and Hymns sound forth from two, and they mutually provoke one another, who shall sing best unto their God: Christ rejoiceth to behold and hear such things.

*Of Marri-
age.*

*Lib. 2. ad
uxorem.*

*Angeli re-
nunciant
obsignatum.*

Voluntantur.

*So Albaspin,
in notis.*

Which

In annotat.
in loc.

Womans
ornaments.

Lib. de cult.
fœminar.

Lib. de
spectacul.

Lib. de prœ-
script.

Of Here-
ticks.

Which words (saith *Rbenanus*) are worthy to be written in Letters of Gold.

16. He would have these to be the Ornaments of Christian Women. They should (saith he) take whiteness from simplicity, redness from modesty; their eyes should be painted with bashfulness, their spirits with silence, hanging in their ears the Word of God, tying about their necks the Yoke of Christ. Submit unto your Husbands (saith he) and you shall be sufficiently adorned: imploy your hands in wooll; let your feet keep at home; and you shall more please, than if deck'd with Gold. Cloth you with the Silk and Purple of Virtue, Holiness and Chastity; being thus beautified, you shall have God for your Lover.

17. A woman going unto the Theatre, returned from thence possessed of the Devil: wherefore in the Exorcism, being pressed how he durst adventure upon a Believer, he constantly replied: I do it most justly: *In meo eam inveni*. For I found her upon mine own ground.

18. As touching the carriage and course of Hereticks, he thus describes it: First of all, it is uncertain who among them is a Catechumen, and who a Believer: they congregate together, and hear together, pray together: if even heathens come in among them, they give that which is holy unto dogs, and cast pearls (though not true ones) before swine: they will have simplicity to be the prostration of Discipline; the care whereof among us they call an inticement: they also make peace every where with all: For it matters not with them

them, though they hold different opinions ; so that they agree together for the overthrow of the Truth : they are all puffed up, they all promise knowledge ; even heretical women how malepert, who dare teach, contend, exorcise, promise cures, and perhaps baptize too : Their ordinations are rash, light and inconstant ; sometimes they place in novices, sometimes such as are addicted unto the World ; sometimes our Apostates, that they may oblige them by Glory (or Preferment) whom they cannot by Truth : Proficiency is no where more facile, than in the Camps of Rebels ; where even to be a desertor is a step to promotion ; therefore one is a Bishop to day, to morrow another : to day he is a Presbyter, who to morrow is a Lay-man ; he is to day a Deacon, who to morrow is a Reader : For even unto Laicks do they commit Pastoral Charges, or the Priestly Office. What should I speak of the Administration of the Word ? Seeing their business is not to convert the Heathens, but to subvert ours : This glory they rather covet , if they may ruine those that stand, than raise up those that are fallen : Because their work proceeds not of their own proper building , but of the destruction of the Truth. Besides, they know not to respect or reverence those that are over them ; and hence it is that there are scarce any Schisms amongst Hereticks ; for when there be, they obey not. Finally, if we look narrowly into Heresies , we shall find them all in many things differing from their Authors : many of them have no Churches ; they wander up and down, without a Mother, without a seat, de-

*Iosum esse
illic pro-
mereri est.*

stitute of the faith, like banished ones: it is also observed, that Hereticks have much acquaintance with Magicians, Juglers, Astrologers, Philosophers, being given to curiosity; every where minding that; *Seek and ye shall find.* So that the quality of their Faith, may be estimated from their manner of conversation. Doctrine is the Index of Discipline. They deny that God is to be feared: therefore all things are free and loose among them. &c.

§ 6. Though these and many such like excellent passages are to be found in his works throughout; yet is there a great deal of caution and judgement to be made use of in the perusal of them: For,

Osiand. E-
pit. Hist.
cent. 3. lib. 1.
cap. 5.

August. de
Heres. cap.
86.

Lib. advers.
Praxeam.

Aug. ibid.

1. He hath many inconvenient and dangerous expressions, which without a favourable interpretation are not to be allowed of, for although in some of them he haply thought more commodiously than he wrote: yet his absurd phrases are no way to be approved of, nor can some of them by any means well be excused: As, where he saith, that God is corporeal, and hath a body, though not fashioned or figured: Who (saith he) can deny that God hath a body, although God be a Spirit? which expression of his is very inconvenient, and unsuitable unto the most simple Nature of God. Yet hath the great *Augustine* herein pleaded his excuse: He might perhaps (saith he) by a body, mean the very Divine Nature, Substance or Essence: which term he therefore useth, lest he should seem to make God an empty Phantasm, and meet

meer nothing. And indeed, comparing this expression with divers passages in the works of our Author, we shall find there was cause why he should conceive this to have been his meaning, and that he had ground sufficient for so friendly a construction of his words. As, where he saith, the very substance is the body of every thing: Also, every thing that is, is a body in its kind; *nihil est incorporale, nisi quod non est*: Nothing is incorporeal, but what is not. Again, who will deny God to be a body, though he be a Spirit? For a Spirit is a body of its kinds in its shape and fashion: The less reason had *Alphonsus de Castro*, to make *Tertullian* the first Author of the Heresie of the *Anthropomorphites*: (though they might abuse these expressions of his, and by them be confirmed in their opinion) considering withal, that those Scriptures upon which they built their gross conceits of God, are otherwise understood by him, than they were by them, e. g. where the Scriptures do speak of the eye, ear, hand and feet of God, they understood them literally; but he metaphorically, and as spoken after the manner of men to our capacity: For (saith he) by those expressions the Divine operations are declared, but not corporeal lineaments given or ascribed unto God: For by the eye is signified that he seeth all things; by the ear, that he heareth all things, &c. this therefore made him not an Heretick.

Lib. advers.
Hermog.

Lib. de carne
Christi.

Lib. advers.
Praxeas.

Lib. 5. ad-
vers. haer.

Lib. de Tri-
nitat.

August. de
heres. c. 86.

Another such expression is this; that the Father was before the Son; and that the Son had his original or beginning, when the

Lib. de Tri-
nitat.

M a Father

Father would that he should proceed from him. Yet doth he in the same Book assert the Eternity of the Son; saying, That he was always in the Father, nor can time be assigned unto him, who was before all time.

Lib. advers.
Praxeam.

Controvers.
de Christo.
lib. 1. cap.
10.

In argum.
lib. de carne
Christi.

In argum.
lib. advers.
Praxeam.

Again, the Father is the whole Substance; but the Son a derivation or portion of the whole. Of which words Bellarmine gives this favourable interpretation; *Hec verba, inquit, intelligi debent de sola distinctione personali, quem in toto libro intendit: vocat autem Filium portionem, & Patrem totam substantiam; quia Pater est fons & principium aliarum personarum, & in ea ratione majoritatem quandam habet.* These and other the like dangerous expressions are scattered up and down his Books; in regard whereof *Rhenanus* saw cause, why he should in the Margin against the last mentioned passage, warn the Reader, that here and elsewhere *Tertullian* is to be read with caution: Again, Here and elsewhere (saith he) let the Reader remember that he is perusing *Tertullian*. Yet again, Divines, saith he, are to be admonished, that they do interpret some things more commodiously, or aptly then they sound, and indulge something to antiquity.

2. He delivereth and laboureth to maintain many unsound Opinions and gross Errours, which are carefully to be avoided and rejected, as what is sound and Orthodox in him to be embraced: the good is not to be neglected for the bad, nor the bad to be received for the sake of that in him which is good. I think
(saith

(saith *Jerom*) that *Origen* for his Learning is sometime to be read in the same manner, as *Tertullian*, *Novatus*, *Arnobius*, *Apollinaris*, and some other Ecclesiastical Writers, both Greek and Latin, viz. So that we chuse the good in them, and refuse the contrary: according to the Apostles saying; *Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.* We are to make use of him as *Cyprian* did, who honoured him with the Title of Master: though he took a great deal of delight in the wit of that learned and zealous man, yet did he not follow *Montanus* and *Maximilla* with him. And this gives a hint of his foulest Errour, which I shall mention in the first place.

Epist. 76.
Tranquil-
lino.

1 Theff. 5.
21.

Hieronym.
Epist. Pam-
mach. & O-
ceano. N. 65,

1. He became a follower of *Montanus*; whose gross and sottish Errours having once entertained, he (for ought that appears to the contrary) persisted in unto the end of his days; stiling and owning the blasphemous Heretick, (together with his Female con- sorts *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*) for the Para- clete or Comforter, whom Christ promised to send, distinguishing him from the holy Ghost: contrary to that clear Text, *Joh. 14. 26. The Comforter, which is the holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, &c.* This say his followers, descended upon the Apostles, but the *Paraclete* upon *Montanus* and his *Minions*; whose Prophecies, or rather idle Dreams, and Fancies they much magnified: wherein second Marriages are condemned, and Fastings and Martyrdoms are exacted: which things *Tertullian* being overmuch taken with, and approving of, he

Lib. de re-
surrect. car-
nis. & Ge-
nius alibi.
lib. advers.
Praxeam.
initio.

Hieronym.
advers. Vi-
gilant. Rhe-
nan. in an-
notat in lib.
advers.
Praxeam,

Lib. de Pra-
script.

Sculter in
Medul. lib.
lib. 7 cap. 42.
Erasm. in
vitâ Origen.

thereupon embraced that new Propheſie. A ſtrange thing that ſo learned and eminent a man ſhould give credit unto ſuch ſcolliſh and frantick conceits : Eſpecially conſidering that, not long before, himſelf had ranked the followers of *Montanus*, viz. *Proclus* and *Æſchines* amongſt the moſt notorious Hereticks; whom he chargeth with this blaſphemy, as he call it, that they ſay the holy Ghoſt was in the Apoſtles, but not the *Paraclete*; and that the *Paraclete* had ſpoken more in *Montanus*, than Chriſt had delivered in the Goſpel; and not only more, but better and greater things. *Erasmus* conceives that he did this *contra mentis ſue ſententiam*, *appellans Montanum omnis veritatis deducitorem*: For he could not be perſwaded that a man of ſo piercing a judgement, and ſo exerciſed and verſed in the Sacred Scriptures, did ever believe that *Montanus* was the holy Ghoſt or *Paraclete*, whom Chriſt promiſed unto the Apoſtles.

Lib. 2. ad-
verſ. Marci-
on.

Luk 17. 21.
Lib. 4. ad-
verſ. Marci-
on.

2. He advanceth the freedom of mans will after the fall ſo highly, that even *Pelagius* himſelf would ſcarce dare to do it with the like Liberty, e. g. The Law (ſaith he) would not have been given to him, that had not the obedience to the Law, in his own power. And, a little after, thus: So we find the Creator propounding unto man, or ſetting before him good and evil, life and death; exhorting and threatning; which he would not have done, unleſs man had been free, and voluntary to obey or contemn. Again, Echold, (ſaith he) the Kingdom of God is within you: Who will not ſo interpret it? within you
i. e.

i. e. in your own hand and power; if you hear, and do the command of God? Also, that the Patriarchs, *Noah* and *Abraham* were just by the righteousness of the Law of Nature. Lib. advers. Judæos.

3. He condemns second Marriages, accounting them no better than Adultery, and worthy of Excommunication: May we not say, (saith he) that second Marriage is a kind of Adultery? &c. Also, he calls the lawful company of Man and Wife, *contumelia communis: A common contumely or reproach.* Exhortat. ad castitat. lib. de veland. Virginib.

4. He denies that it is lawful for a Christian to flee in time of persecution; being immoderate in the praise of Martyrdom; as if it merited pardon of sin. Who (saith he) doth not wish to suffer that he may purchase the whole favour of God, and all pardon from him by the compensation of his Blood? *Omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur.* Lib. de fug. in persecut. Apologetic.

5. He was of the opinion (as was also *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Cyprian*, lib. *De disciplin. & habit. Virgin.*) that the Angels fell in love, and accompanied with women (misunderstanding that passage of *Moses*, *Gen.* 6.1.) and that they discovered many secrets and hidden Arts, and especially divers curiosities for the adorning and setting forth of Women; for which they were condemned. Lib. de idolatr. Lib. de haer. muliebr.

6. He held also the Error of the *Chilists* or *Millenaries*: We confess (saith he) that a Kingdom is promised unto us in the Earth, before Heaven; but in another state; namely, after the Resurrection for a thousand years in a

City of a Divine Work or Building. *Jerusalem* coming down from Heaven, &c. this we say is provided of God for the Saints, to be there refreshed with all spiritual good things, in recompence of those things which in the World we have either despised or lost. For it is a righteous thing, and worthy of God, that his Servants should exult and rejoyce there, where they have been afflicted for his name.

Lib. de ani-
ma.

Ex traduce.

Lib. de he-
ref. cap. 86.

In vita Ter-
tull.

In lib. Au-
gust. de
heres. cap.
36.

Cent. 3. cap.
10.

Examen.
part. 1.

7. He thought that both Angels, and also the Souls of men, were corporeal; and the latter derived from the Parent unto the Child by way of propagation. *Anima in utero seminata pariter cum carne, pariter cum ipsa sortitur & sexum, &c.* *Augustine* tell us, his opinion was, that the worst Souls of men are after death converted, or turned into Devils; which absurd conceit *Pamelius* thinks ought rather to be imputed unto those Hereticks, that took their name from him, than unto *Tertullian* himself, because it is not to be found in any of his Writings: nor could *Danani* easily be induced to believe, that *Augustine* should charge him herewith, seeing he is more equal toward him.

8. He approves of and labours to defend the superstitious facts and stations; as also other ridiculous Ceremonies of the Montanists, viz. the superstitious use of the sign of the Cross, Oblations for the Dead, and annual upon Birth-days, Processions, &c. (*Antique observationes (inquit Chemnitius) quorum apud Tertullianum fit mentio, non sunt omnes Apostolice traditiones, sed multe ex Montani Paraclete profectæ sunt*) these and such like, which he

he borrowed from those Hereticks, did he practise and augment: though he himself confesses that there is no warrant for them in the Scriptures, nor were they instituted by the Apostles. Who list, may there see a large Catalogue of such Observations and Practices; which are built upon none other, than the sandy foundation of uncertain Tradition. The materials of the Anti christian Synagogue were preparing betimes.

§ 7. As touching his *Exit*, or the close of his life, I find this only recorded; that he lived long, even to old age, yea, *usq; ad decrepitam etatem: unto decrepit old age*; which yet *Pamelius* would have to be but unto sixty three years; At what time (saith he) decrepit old begins: So that according to his account, he, (as many other eminent men have done) ended his pilgrimage in his Climacterical year: Or rather, then ceased to write any more; for he is loath to affirm that he lived beyond this time, considering what *Jerom* had delivered concerning him. Some do rank him among the Martyrs that suffered for the name of Christ; and *Rhenanus* makes *Regino* the reporter of his Martyrdom; though, after diligent perusal, I do not find him so much as named by that Historian: This therefore seems to be a mere and groundless conjecture, and very unlikely, seeing that neither *Eusebius*, nor *Jerom* do make any mention of it. True it is, that he was very desirous of Martyrdom; but it might be a righteous thing with God, not to vouchsafe that honour unto him, who had

Lib. de coron. milit.

Trithem. de Script.

Hieronym. in Catalog.

In vita Tertull.

Cent. 3. cap. 10.

In vita Tertull.

had so unworthily deserted the Truth, and esteemed Martyrdom meritorious. But what kind of death soever put a period unto his life, he is herein much to be lamented, that having as a Star of the first Magnitude, shined in the Church of Christ so brightly the most part of his time; he should at last, by forsaking it, be so much obscured, and go out so ingloriously.

Origenes

Origenes Adamantius.

§ 5. **H**E is commonly known by the name of *Origenes Adamantius*; so called of the Adamant; a stone of such hardness, that it yields not to the stroke of the hammer: not unlike whereunto was the spirit and temper of *Origen*, indefatigably laborious, both in reading and writing; *Scriptoribus aliquot propter indefatigatam studii tolerantiam Adamantini cognomen inditum fuit; ut Didymo grammatico & Origeni Theologo*: For which cause also *Jerom* gives him the name of *Chalcenterus* & verè *Adamantinus*, or brazen sides; for so may the greek word χαλκέντερος be rendred: of χαλκός, and έντερος, *intestina*. *Photius* renders this, as the reason of his name, *quod rationes, quas colligaret, adamantinis quibusdam quasi vinculis non absimiles viderentur*. He was one whom neither austerity of life, nor perpetual pains taking, nor the hardship of poverty, nor the unworthy carriage of such as envied him, nor fear of punishment, nor any face of death, could in the least remove from his holy course and purpose.

His Country was *Egypt*, and the place of his birth therein (as is conjectured) the famous City of *Alexandria*; he descended of Christian

Erasm. adag.
Didymus
Scriptisse
super ter
mille &
quingentos
libros per-
hibetur.
Meurs. in
notis in
Hesych. de
illust.
Epist. 18.
Marcello.
Victor.
Schol. in
Hieronym.

Biblioth.
cap. 118.

Erasm. in
vita Orig.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 1.

In verb. Ori-
gen.

Christian Parents, both Father, Grand-father, and great Grand-father, and pious from his childhood, trained up like another young *Timothy*, in the Christian Religion and Knowledge of the Scriptures. His Father's name was *Leonides*, a pious and learned man, and according to some, a Bishop: for so *Suidas*; Λεωνίδης εἶχε πάλαι ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ μαρτυρίας: who in the cruel persecution under *Severus* was crowned with Martyrdom, being beheaded for the name of Christ. *Origen* was then but young, yet so fervently affected toward Christian Religion, that being hindred by his Mother (who hid his apparel from him to prevent the danger he would have exposed himself unto) from going unto, and visiting his Father in prison, he could not rest, but wrote unto him a Letter, wherein he thus exhorts him; Faint not, O Father (saith he) nor think of any thing (because of us) but suffering constantly.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 1.

His Father in his life time had carefully instructed him in the holy Scriptures in the first place, and after that in the Liberal Arts, and prophane Literature, in both which he profited exceedingly, and above his years: His manner was to demand of the child a daily task of some certain sentences, which he enjoined him to learn by heart; by which means he grew unto such promptness and acquaintance with the Scriptures; that he contented not himself with the bare and usual reading of them, but proceeded farther, searching into the hidden and profound meaning of them; so that many times he would even gravel his Father, questioning him what

was

was meant by this and that place, in-
somuch as his Father would check him some-
times in outward appearance, admonishing
him not to enquire curiously above the capa-
city of his years, and more than the plain
Letter gave him to understand; yet inwardly
did he rejoyce greatly hereat, and would of-
tentimes uncover the Breast of his child
while asleep, solemnly kissing it as the Shrine
or Closet of the Holy Ghost, giving hearty
thanks unto God that he had made him the
Father of such a Son.

From this domestical Discipline he was de-
livered over unto other Masters, whereof the
famous *Clement* of *Alexandria* was one, and
the learned Philosopher *Ammonius* another,
whom he heard for the space of seven years.

Cent. 3. cap.
10.
Erasim. in vi-
ta Origen.

When his Father was martyred, he was left
an Orphan of the age of seventeen years,
with his Mother and six Children in great
want, his Father's Substance and Estate being
all confiscated into the Emperour's Treasury:
Origen therefore casting himself upon the
providence of God, he stirred up the heart of
a Matron in *Alexandria*, very rich, and also
religious, to compassionate him in his necessi-
ties, who received him into her House, and
not only maintained him, but also liberally
helped and promoted him in his studies at her
own cost. There was in the house at the same
time a certain man of *Antioch*, named *Paul-*
lus, accounted a profound and wise man, but
a notable Heretick, whom she had adopted
for her Son; to him resorted a very great
number, not only of Hereticks, but also of
the Orthodox as unto their Master. *Origen*
then

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 2.
Hieronym.
in catalog.

Cent. 3. cap.
10.

Gabriel
Powel in his
discourse of
the unlaw-
fulness of so-
litation,
speaking of
this Paulus,
and this very
passage, adds
(as I think,
saith he,
Samosate-
nus) who
was Bishop of
Antioch: as
Euseb. lib. 7.
cap. 26.

then of necessity using his company, and having made so good a progress in Learning, that he could discern between true and false Doctrine, would by no means be drawn either to discourse, or to be present with him at prayers; nor would he give him any respect at all; so much did he detest his heretical opinions.

About the eighteenth year of his age, he: publicly at *Alexandria* began to profess and teach the art of Grammar, wherewith he maintained himself, that he might not be burthenfome to any one; *Olim semile & arduum fuit negotium Grammaticam profiteri:*

Erasm. in vi.
ti Origen.

A work of great difficulty in former time (saith *Erasmus*) to the due performance whereof much labour and no less skill was requisite. And because by reason of the heat of persecution, those who had formerly catechised and taught in that School were forced to flee, so that none of them were left; he under the person of a Grammarian acted the part of a Catechist, *Sub occasione secularis literature in fide Christi eos instituens*, together with Grammatical Rules, scattering some seeds of piety and Christian Doctrine in the minds of his hearers; which may be the ground of *Zonaras* his words concerning him, *Annos, inquit, octodecim natus instituendi Christiane Religionis tyronibus praeuit*. The Seed thus sown grew and prospered so well, that divers of his Scholars profited exceedingly, sucking from his lips the juice of Christian Religion and Heavenly Philosophy; among whom one *Plutarch* was the first, who at length was crowned with Martyrdom; the

Hieronym.
in catalog.

Tom. 3. in
Severo.

Euseb. Hb. 6.
cap. 2.

second;

second, *Heraclas* the Brother of *Plutarch*, who afterward succeeded *Demetrius* in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*.

Having for a while continued in this exercise with good success, the charge of the School or Office of Catechist at *Alexandria* (wherein he succeeded *Clement* his Master) was committed unto him by *Demetrius* the Bishop of that City: *Origen* perceiving that many Scholars did resort unto him, and frequent his Lectures, he laid aside the reading of humanity, and applied himself to a more profitable course, viz. the exercise of godly Discipline, and in the instructing of his Auditors in the Sacred Scriptures, in which employment he continued and flourished for divers years. But at length the number of those who in companies flocked unto him, and that even from morning to night, growing so great, that he had scarce a breathing time afforded him; and perceiving that by himself alone he was not able to undergo the burden of so great a work, nor could enjoy that leisure which he much desired, to search into the profound mysteries of the Scriptures, which his mind was chiefly carried out after, he made choice of *Heraclas*, a man expert in the Scripture, most eloquent, and not unskilful in Philosophy, to be his assistant in the work of catechising, committing unto him the instruction of those who were newly come to the faith, reserving unto himself the care of such as had made a farther progress therein, having attained unto more perfection.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 7.
Cent. 3. cap.
10.
Hieronym.
in catalog. &
Epist. ad
Pammach. &
Ocean.

Euseb. 6. cap.
14.

While he was thus employed in preaching
the

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 7.

Erasin. in vi-
ti Origen.

In Virgil.
Æneid. lib.
6.

Suidas in
verbo. ἱε-
ροφάντης.

Genial. dier.
lib. 5.
cap. 17.

Advers. Jo-
vinian. lib. 1.
& in Epist.
ad Ageru-
chiam vidu-
am de Mo-
nogamia. n.
11.

Lea. antiq.
lib. 31. cap.
6.

Alex. ab. A-
lex. ibid. lib.
4. cap. 17.

Hist. Natu-
ral. lib. 25.
cap. 13.

In exam.
par t. 3.

the word, and instructing not only men, but also women resorting unto him, that he might cut off all occasion of suspicion and slander from the Infidels, literally understanding those words of Christ, *Matth. 19. 12. There be some who have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens sake*: He practised upon himself, either by abscission, or else by exsiccation, and deadening of those parts by certain herbs or medicaments which he made use of for that purpose. A thing it seems commonly practised by the Heathen Priests: for so *Servius* affirms, *Sacerdotes, inquit, qui maxima sacra accipiebant, renunciabant omnibus rebus, nec ulla in his nisi numinum curare manebat, herbis etiam quibusdam emasculabantur, unde etiam coire non poterant.* *Jerom* gives us an instance hereof in the *Hierophantes*, a sort of Priests among the Athenians, (*ἱεροφάντης, sacrorum interpres, mysteriorum præses*) (*qui enim sacris præsunt ceremoniis præcætionibusque Deorum multiplici nomine censentur, namque Hierophantas aliquos, alios Hierodidascalos, nonnullos Hieronomos, plerosque Hierophylaces aut Nomophylaces, qui frequentes erant, appellarunt Græci, inquit Alexander ab Alexandro*) Of these (saith he) *Legant Hierophantas Atheniensium usque hodie cicuta sorbitione castrari, & postquam in Pontificatum fuerint electi (surrecti fuerint, inquit Rhodiginus) viros esse desinere, ut castissime sanctissimeque sacrum facerent.* Of the virtue of which herb *Pliny* thus speaks, *Certum est, quod lac puerperarum mammis imposita extinguat, ventremque testibus circa pubertatem illita.*

Chevnitius makes the reason of his so do-
ing

ing to be his too great admiration of single life, which example of his many others followed, *Aded ut Ecclesia coacta fuerit severiter hoc prohibere.* So doth the Council of Nice provide, that whoever was found guilty of gelding himself, if he were already in orders, he should be deposed, if not, he was not to be ordained: agreeable to what we find in the Canons of the Apostles (as they are called) concerning this thing.

Can. 1. Bide.
Concili.

Can. 21. 22.

This unadvised act of his *Origen* desired to conceal, yet could not carry the matter so closely, but that it came to the knowledge of *Demetrius* the Bishop, whereof what use he made, we shall hereafter declare.

Leaving *Alexandria* he went unto *Rome* in the time when *Zephyrinus* was Bishop there, a little before his death, as *Baronius* conjectures: the cause why he undertook this journey, was the great desire that he had to see the most ancient Church of the *Romans*; where, having made but a little stay, he returned unto *Alexandria* again, and there diligently attended his charge, the success of his pains being the gaining of many to the embracing of the truth, and the recovering of others from error, among whom one *Ambrose* (addicted unto the Valentinian Heresie, or (as *Jerom* reports) unto that of *Marcion*, or (as others) partly a Marcionist, and partly a Sabellian) was brought to see and forsake his error, and afterward called to the Office of a Deacon in the Church of *Alexandria*, famous for his confession of the name of Christ, a man noble, rich and learned.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 13.
Ad an. 226.
§ 6.

Erasm. in
vita Origen.

In catalog.
Epiphani.
Hæres. 64.

Hieronym.
in catalog.
& Schol.
Miræ in loc.

The fame of *Origen* was now spread a-
N abroad

Euseb. lib. 4.
cap. 19.

Cent. 3. cap.
10.

Osiand. E-
pit. hist. cent.
3. lib. 1. cap.
7.

Cent. 3. cap.
10.

Hist. Eccles.
lib. 5. cap. 14.

broad even unto other Countries; for a certain Soldier sent from the Governour of *Arabia*, comes to *Alexandria*, bringing with him Letters unto *Demetrius* the Bishop there, and also unto him who was then Lieutenant of *Egypt*, requesting them with all speed to dispatch *Origen* unto him, that he might instruct him and his people in the Doctrine of Christianity: for although there had before been a Church of Christ in *Arabia*, yet it is credible, that the Duke or Governour with his Court had persisted in his Heathenish Impiety even unto the time of *Origen*, it being observed that for the most part the propagation of the Christian Religion begins with the lowest of the people, and gradually by little and little ascends unto the Governours of Commonwealths. *Origen* accordingly goeth thither, and having happily accomplished the end of his journey, he not long after returneth again unto *Alexandria*, where, through a sedition, finding all in a combustion and tumult, and his Scholars scattered, so that there was no abiding for him there, no nor in any other place of *Egypt* in safety, he left his Country, and betook himself unto *Cæsarea*, a City of *Palestina*, where he was earnestly entertained by the Bishops of that Province to expound the Scriptures, though he were not as yet called to the Ministry (*Legatione ad eum missâ Episcopi permiscere, ut differeret de sacris literis*: so *Nicephorus* reports it.) This act of his (condescending to their request) was much distasted by *Demetrius*, who in a Letter which he wrote unto those Bishops, thus speaks of it, that such a practice was ne-

ver heard of, nor could there any where the
 like Precedent be found, that Lay-men in the
 presence of Bishops have taught in the
 Church. But they in defence of what had
 been done, returning an answer unto him,
 have therein such words as these, We know
 not for what cause you report a ma-
 nifest untruth, since there have been such
 found as in open assemblies have taught the
 people, yea, when as there were present learn-
 ed men that could profit the people, and
 moreover holy Bishops at that time also ex-
 horting them to preach: for example, at
Laranda Enelpis was requested of *Neon*, at
Iconium Paulinus was requested by *Celsus*, at
Synada Theodorus by *Atticus*, who were godly
 Brethren. It is like also that this was practi-
 sed in other places, though unknown to us.
 Thus was *Origen*, being a young man, ho-
 noured of Bishops that were strangers unto
 him. But the storm of civil dissensions being
 blown over, and both *Demetrius* and the
 Deacons of the Church by Letters earnestly
 soliciting him to return, he leaves *Palestine*,
 and comes back again unto *Alexandria*, and
 there applyeth himself to his accustomed
 manner of teaching.

Euseb. lib. 6.
 cap. 19.

Not long after *Mammaea* the Mother of the
 Emperour *Alexander Severus*, a most pious
 and religious woman (*Christianissima*, inquit
Tribemius, *que a Christianissimo non abhor-*
ruit, inquit *Osander*) hearing of the Elo-
 quence and Apostolical Life of *Origen*, and
 living then at *Antioch* with her Son, sent for
 him by some Soldiers to come unto her, ac-
 counting it no small happiness if she might

Euseb. lib. 6.
 cap. 20.
 De Script.
 Eccles.
 Hist. Eccles.
 Epit.

Naaclet.
Zonaras.

Chronic. Ur-
spergens.
Oliander.
Hist. Eccles.
Epit.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 21.

Erasm. in vi-
ta Origen.

Ibid.

Ad an. 220.
§. II.

see him, and hear his wisdom in the holy Scriptures, which all men admired. To whom he accordingly repaired, and staying a while with her, he instructed her in the Doctrine of Christianity, which found so good acceptance with her, that she became both a lover of it, and a favourer of those who professed it; (not that she was now first brought to the knowledge and embracing of it, as some conceive; (*audito Origene Christiana facta est*) but rather further confirmed therein) who so far prevailed with her Son, that not only the persecution against the Christians ceased, but they also had a place granted them for the exercise of Religion, and were had in high esteem with him. Having here detained him a while, she at length dismissed him with honour, who again betook him to his School at *Alexandria*.

And now did he begin to comment upon the holy Scriptures, being much instigated thereunto by *Ambrose* whom he had reduced from error, as hath been before said; who, for his encouragement, furnished him with necessities for that purpose, allowing parchments, and no less than seven Notaries, who by turns took from his mouth, and wrote what he dictated unto them; and as many Libraries (maintained all at the charge of *Ambrose*) who transcribed or copied out more fairly what the other had formerly taken; and that this was the difference between the *Notarii* and the *Librarii*, may be gathered from *Erasmus* his calling the one *ταχέως γράφοντες*, or *swift*, the other *καλλιγράφοντες*, or *fair writers*. *Notariorum, inquit Baronius, erat scribere; Librarium*

Librariorum exscribere. Jerom (saith *Mira-*
us) calls those Notaries, who with a swift
hand took the words of him that did dictate,
and sometimes they wrote by notes or cha-
racters: but those *Librarii*, or *Scriveners*,
who afterward more accurately committed
the things so taken unto Books. Of this
Turnebus thus speaks, *Scribere notis non est*
compendio quodam literarum verba complecti ad
celeritatem, sed quibusdam fictis signis compre-
bendere, idque docebantur pueri, non tantum
scribere; Cassianus enim Martyr, qui puerorum
filii confossus Christo animam reddit, notis scri-
bere docuit: Prudentius *πρὸς σεφάων*,
Hym. 9.

In notis in
Hieronym.
catalog. in
Hyppolyto.

Adversar.
lib. 14. c. 24.

——— *Magister literarum sedit,*
Verba notis brevibus comprehendere cuncta peritus,
Rapimque punctis dicta præpetibus sequi.

Aliud enim esse notis, aliud literis scribere,
glaudit Manilius, lib. 4. cap. 1, his verbis.

Hic & scriptor erit felix, cui litera verbum est;
Quique notis linguam superet cursumque la-
quentis.

Martial also the *Epigrammatist*, of the
Notary thus:

Currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis:

Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.

Lib. 14.
Epigr. 176.

So thirsty after the knowledge of the Scri-
ptures, and so pressing upon *Origen*, unto
this work was *Ambrose* (whom he therefore
calls

So Jerom
call. Nepo-
rian. Epist.
ad Heliodo-
rum, num. 2.

Hieronym.
in catalog.

calls ἐργασίας) that he would scarce afford him sufficient time to eat, sleep or walk for his recreation, or to read and review what the Notaries had written, as himself complains in a certain Epistle to his Friend.

Cent. 3. cap.
10.

About this time the Churches of *Achaia* being much pestered and vexed with divers Heresies, *Origen* is sent thither with Letters testimonial for the suppressing of them, who was now in his middle age, or about forty and three years old, as *Baronius* conjectures: he supposeth that the cause of his going into *Greece*, was his great desire to get the sixth Edition of the Bible, which was this year found at *Nicopolis*, that he might adjoin it unto the other five Versions, which with unwearied pains and diligence he had formerly found out; and so compose that laborious work of his, which he called *Hexapla*.

Erasin. in vi-
ta Origen.
Hieronym.
in catalog.

Adan. 230.
§ 7.

Now, passing through *Palestine* toward *Athen*, he was (by *Alexander* and *Theodotus* (who greatly admired *Origen*) two Bishops of great authority, the one of *Hierusalem*, the other of *Cesarea*) by imposition of hands made or ordained Minister at *Cesarea*; which office gained him much more respect, so that he was had in great esteem. This begat envy in *Demetrius*, who was highly offended with those Bishops for what they had done; and by aspersions endeavoured to darken and eclipse the Glory of *Origen* in his Letters unto all the Bishops throughout the world: and having nothing else to charge him withal that might tend to his disparagement, he published his unadvised act of castration, as a most foul and absurd fact of his, though when he

Erasin. ibid.
Cent. 3. cap.
10.
Osiand. cent.
2. lib. 1. cap.
7.
Niceph. lib.
5. cap. 18.

Hieronym.
in catalog.

Euseb. lib 6.
cap. 7. & 21.

first came to the knowledge thereof, he had admired and praised him for it, encouraging him still to go on in the office of catechising.

Ut rem flam
& fortem
approbave-
rat. cent. 3.
cap. 10.

Origen therefore perceiving how much the mind of *Demetrius* was alienated from and incensed against him (forbearing to make use of any bitterness against his detractors) chose rather to pass by the injury in silence, and to give place to their passion, than further to exasperate them: he therefore after his return and abode there for some small time, left *Alexandria*, having committed the office of a Catechist there unto *Heraclas* formerly his assistant in that work, and went again into *Palestine*, remaining at *Cesarea*, where he applied himself unto the preaching of the word, many not only of that Country, but also strangers from other places resorting thither and attending upon his Ministry: among whom were divers eminent men, and of special note, viz. *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, who one while invited him into his Province, to edifie or reform the Churches there; another while under pretence of visiting the holy places, he made a voyage into *Palestine*, and for a good space continued there, that by *Origen* he might be brought to the further understanding of the Scriptures.

Erasm. in vi-
ta Origen.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 29.

Ad refor-
mationem
Ecclesie sue
Oliander. in
Epitom.
Erasm. in vi-
ta Origen.
Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 26.

Hieronym.
in catalog.

Baron. ad an.
266. § 23.

Also *Theodorus*, called afterward *Gregorius*, Bishop of *Neocesarea* in *Pontus*, a man most renowned, and for the miracles which he wrought, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, together with his Brother *Athenodorus*, whom (continuing with him about the space of five years) he converted from Heathenism to Christianity; for which cause this *Theodorus* a

while after penned a Panegyrick or Encomiastick Oration in the praise of *Origen*, to testify his thankfulness for what he had received from him.

Euseb. l. 6.
cap. 32.
Hieronym.
In Catalog.
Angelocrat.
in spit. Con.

After this, *Beril*, Bishop of *Eosra* in *Arabia* falling into Heresie, and maintaining that Christ before his Incarnation had no being: he was dealt and disputed with by divers Bishops assembled together: *Origen* also was sent for who by strength of Argument so convinced him of his error, that he restored him again to his former sound opinion: for which he returned him solemn thanks in divers letters written unto him:

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 36.

Also certain others arose in *Arabia*, who broached this pernicious Doctrine that the soul died and perished together with the body, and that in the general resurrection, they arose together and were restored unto life again. These Hereticks are by *Augustine*

De heres.
cap. 83. &
Daneus in
com. in loc.

called *Arabici*, by *Damascen* *ὁμιλοῦντες τὰς ἀναιμώτους*, *Animomortales*; about which a great Synod was assembled, wherein *Origen* so discoursed of this matter, that the erroneous did soon renounce their absurd opinion, and were reduced to a better judgment. He also suppressed the Heresie of the *Helcesaites*, which

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 37.

sprung up about the same time (called of *Epiphanius Sampsei*; in the region of *Perza*,

Epip. hær. 53.

whose first Author was one *Elxæus*) who rejected part of the Old Testament: denied the Apostle *Paul* wholly: counted it an indifferent thing to deny or not to deny with the mouth in time of persecution, so that thou persist faithful in thine heart; and used a certain book, which (as they say) came down from

from heaven, the which whosoever heareth and believeth (say they) shall obtain another kind of remission of sins then that which Christ purchased for us.

Growing now old (above sixty years of age) and much worn out and wasted with long study and painful exercise, he at length was prevaild with and permitted, that those things which he publicly preached and disputed, should by Notaries be taken and Copied out; which before he would not suffer to be done; This *Erasmus* understands of his Sermons or Homilies: *tanta erat modestie, (inquit ille) ut sero passus sit excipi que diserebat.* And thus was his time and strength laid out and spent in the work of the Lord, even from his Childhood unto his old age, not hiding his talent, but as a good servant improving it for the advantage of his Master, who had intrusted him therewith.

Euseb. l. 6. cap. 35.

Eraf. in vita Origen. Jam scil. quando in eo erat vita gravitas & maturitas & tatis & multae experientiae authoritas. Haymo. ecclesiast. lib. 6. cap. 3.

§ 2. He was a man of extraordinary parts and endowments of Nature, *vir magnus & excellentis ingenii*: which began to appear in him even from his very childhood, *vir magnus ab infantia*: being a man in understanding, when but a child in years; stiled therefore by *Erasmus*, *senilis puer*; of a notable strong and piercing wit, *perspicacissimo ingenio*, saith *Rhenanus*; for which nothing was too hard (and so truly *Adamantine*) nor nothing too high (and so truly *Origenical*, *οὐρανίους*, *Montigena*;) such a one as Learned Greece, the fruitful mother of the most happy wits, scarce ever bred the like; *immortale ingenium*: so comprehensive, as not to be bounded within

Trithem. de script.

Hieronym. epist. ad Pammach. n. 63. In vita Origen. In epist. ante opera Origen.

Eraf in vita Origen.

Hieronym. in catalog.

within the limits of ordinary capacities; there being nothing within the Encyclopedy of Arts that could escape his knowledge: for he exactly perused all kind of Authors: wherein he had this advantage above many others, that he lost no time; *ei* (inquit *Erasmus*) *nulla pars etatis periit à studiis*: his tenderest years being improved this way by his pious and careful father; By which means, the fair field of his great abilities being so well cultured and manured, began in his very spring to flourish and abound with the fruit of excellent skill in all the Liberal Sciences: whereof he gave a large proof and testimony, undertaking at the age of eighteen years the publick profession of the art of Grammar in the famous City of *Alexandria*; A task of no small difficulty, to the dispatch whereof was requisite, besides elegancy of Speech, insight into most authors, and acquaintance with history and antiquity; together with a competent measure of knowledge in Poetry, Rhetorick, Logick, Arithmetick, Cosmography and Musick; all which, being so young he had attained unto with wonderful celerity, as *Jerom* testifies: He had diligently studied the writings of the several Sects of Philosophers; viz. *Pythagoreans*, *Stoicks*, &c. but was specially conversant in *Plato*: in which kind of Learning he grew to such an height, that he became famous even among the *Athenian* Philosophers; in so much as many, and those of chiefest rank among them, resorted unto him and attended upon his Lectures: in what esteem they had him, may be gathered from the words of *Porphyrus* in

Optimis disciplinis omnifariam excoltus.

Rhenan. In epist. anre opera. Orig.

Erasm. in vita Origen.

See Polydor. Vltg. de lib. venter. rec. lib. I. cap. 7.

In Catalog.

Euseb. I. 6. cap. 18.

with Plotinus: Cum, inquit, Origenes aliquando Roma venisset in Scholas, Plotinus (qui tum publice ibidem profitebatur) statim genas rubeo suffusus, asurgere voluit: Sermones vero ab Origene continuare rogatus, respondit: Studium loquendi cessare, quando qui loquitur, animadvertit se ad illos, qui idem ipsi noverint, verba facturum: atque ita, cum paucâ quedam differuisset, inde surrexit. These bitter enemies of Christian Religion, Porphyrius, Proclus & alii, (inquit Rhodiginus) fatentur eum exactissimam omnium disciplinarum liberalium cognitionem tenere. Yea, they frequently make honorable mention of him in the books written by them; and would sometimes refer unto him the resolution of perplex doubts and questions. Some of them also have dedicated their books unto him; and others have delivered to him what they had written, as unto the censor of a Master: so great was the Reverence they bore him, and in such account was he had amongst them. He was *Philosophorum omnium sui temporis princeps*; tantâ ingenti, ut nulla eum lingua, nulla literarum laudaret. And is styled by the great Athanasius, *Admirabilis & Summe Indulgentia vir*.

But these philosophical studies did he add to himself unto, only as a step unto a higher form; he prized the Arts as things that might be of great use for the confutation of the Heathens; as also a help to the contemplation of Divine Mysteries, and a meet handmaid to serve and wait upon her Mistress Theology: and in this regard, as he judged them profitable and necessary for himself; so did

Baron. ad an. 248. § 3.

In præfat. ad lib. 19. lect. antiq.

Erast. in vitâ Origen.

Opus de temp-mundi.

Socrates. l. 6. cap. 12.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 17. 19.

did he exhort and perswade others unto the study of them. Nor indeed are they of small advantage, as they do fit the vessel for the receipt of more precious liquor, sublimating the understanding, and so disposing it to apprehend those higher things contained in the Scriptures; for thus do Histories make men wise, Poets witty, the Mathematicks subtil, natural Philosophy deep, Moral grave, Logic and Rhetorick able to contend; as that Noble Scholar hath observed.

Bacon.
Essay. 29.

Hieronym.
Epist. 12.

Epist. 65.

Trithem. de
Script.
Eras. in vita
Origen.

Epist. Pam-
mach. n. 65.

Ibid.

Eras. in vita
Origen.

To the study of the Scriptures therefore did he chiefly apply himself; wherein he found such sweetness, and took so much delight, that he thought nothing worthy of his time or pains in comparison of them: *quis ardentem (inquit Hieronymus) in Scripturis animum non miretur?* both day and night was he thus exercised, neither did he account his meat or sleep sweet unto him, if not seasoned with reading somewhat of those Sacred Oracles: judging it an unworthy thing that the meaner part of man should be refreshed, and the better and more Noble neglected: To which he joyned fervent prayer as the best key to unlock that Cabinet, that so he might come to and enjoy the precious jewel contained therein: *lectio orationem (inquit Hieronymus) excipit, & oratio lectionem*. By this means the holy Scriptures became so familiar unto him, through continual use and his being daily conversant in them; that, by the help of a most strong and happy memory, he had gotten them by heart, *ad unguem assolutus in divinis literis*, and as it were at his

his fingers end; herein even another *Esdra*: and for that he was of a searching and soaring wit, he confined not himself to the low and obvious sense of the words, but would mount aloft into the sublime and mysterious meaning of them; yet herein is he blamed by many, and not without cause, as being too Ibid. studious of allegories: *in allegoriis, inquit Erasmus, superstitiosior est interim & violentior, nimium in hoc intentus, ut destruat historicum sensum; quasi locus non sit allegorie, illo incolumi*: In these he was to excessive and immoderate; though in the framing of them he took much pains, and is very happy in many of them. But the truth is, had he followed the Counsel given to *learn*:

*Grinus in
mexicantē
Origen. in
Genes.*

— *Medio tutissimus ibis* :

He might have avoided his fate, and not, by singeing his wings, have fallen into such a gulf of errors as he did, through his audaciousness this way. And because he saw that he wanted one principal help to the more accurate finding out of the meaning of the Scriptures, he (contrary to his age being somewhat old, and also to the custom of his country) fell upon the study of the Hebrew Tongue, the difficulties whereof he easily overcame; and (to the wonder of *Greece*) attained unto a competent measure of skill in that language in a few (not to say months, but) days. Being thus furnished he diligently improved his talent, affording the help not only of his frequent lectures to his

*Trithe de
script.
Hieronym.
in catalog.*

*Hieronym.
epist. 25. ad
Paulam.*

con-

Hieronym.
Epist. 65.
Pamach. &
Oceano.

contemporaries, but also of his learned Commentaries to posterity for the better understanding of the Scriptures; sweating night and day in the study of the explanation of them.

In Epist. ante
opera O-
rigen.

Biblioth. l. 4.

Ratio veræ
Theologiæ.

Tarinus in
Epist. ante
Philocal.

In Polycro-
nic.

Epist. 62. &
65.

Nor is this the meanest flower in the Garland of his praise, that he was the first among the Fathers that undertook a work of this nature; an enterprize of no small difficulty seeing he was to go in an untrodden path, none of those that lived before him, affording him any help or direction herein: *Primus (inquit Rhenanus) quasi glaciem scidit, juxta proverbium, in enarrandis Scripturis Divinis — divine rei primus inventor. Homo pene ὁμοειδὲς αὐτὸς (inquit Sixtus Senensis) & qui primus aggressus est explanationem omnium divinarum Scripturarum, nondum ob ingentem earum difficultatem ab aliquo attentatam. Erasmus* therefore setting him in the front of all the ancient Commentators both Greek and Latin, adds these words, *Origenes, inquit, inter Commentatores sic est primus, ut nemo cum illo conferri possit.* And indeed who among them all can say, that he is not beholding to him? All that followed, took from him τὰς ἀφορμὰς, their hints both of Teaching and Writing, so that they were not a little holpen by him; Basil and Gregory Nazianzen who collected the *Philocalia*, call him *omnium Theologorum cotem & maximum secundum Apostolos Ecclesiarum Magistrum.* And as all the Latin Poets followed *Ennius*, so (saith *Ranulphus Cestrensis*) all Expositors followed *Origen.* Jerom highly commends and ascribes much to his Interpretations, though he disliked many of his opinions; he styles him the Master

Master of the Churches next after the Apostles (as Basil and Nazianzen did) wishing the envy of his name, with his knowledge in the Scriptures. Hilary and Victorinus so much approved of him, *ut ejus tractatus non ut interpretes, sed ut Auctores proprii operis transtulerunt.* Pamphilus the Martyr had his expositions in so high esteem, that with his own hands he copied out (as the greatest part of the Volumes written by him so particularly) five and twenty volumes of his expositions upon the twelve Prophets, which Jerom happily light on, kept and embraced, with as much joy, as if he had found the treasures of Cræsus. *Atque (ut paucis dicam) hortus quidam reverà nobis erat (inquit Gregorius Thaumaturgus) magni illius paradisi Dei similitudinem referens.* He beautified his learning with piety, being very eminent in this regard: *sancitute vite incomparabilis*: a true Evangelical Doctor, that practised in his Life, what he Preached with his Lips: there being a notable agreement between his words and his works, prescribing rules with the one, and giving a pattern of them in the other. Whence it was said of him, that as he taught so he liv'd, and as he liv'd so he taught: a sweet harmony. *Jejunis, vigiliis, orationibus & continuis divinarum Scripturarum studiis Deo devotè serviens, intentus fuit.* His abstinence and austerity was admirable, he often fasted and watched, always used a spare and mean dyet, only for necessity, forbearing altogether the use of flesh and wine; except through infirmity forced thereunto: insomuch, as that having sold the prophane Authors (which he

In præfat.
ante li. Heb.
nom.
In præf.
quæst. in Ge-
nes.
Hieronym.
Epist. 55.

Hieronym.
in catalog.

In Orat. pa-
negyric. ad
Origenem.

Fascicul.
temp.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 2.

Trithem. de
Script.

Euseb. ibid.
Eras. invi-
ta Origen.

Suidas;

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 3.

he had diligently perused) he enjoyned the buyer to pay him four half pence a day, which for the space of many years sufficed him for Meat, Drink, and Apparel. *Abstinentiâ corporis vigorem aded domuit, ut omnino contabuisse sceletumque factum esse videretur.* He took his rest (which was but little) not on a soft bed, but on the bare ground; and supposing that our Saviour ought especially to be observed, *Mat. 6. 34. & 10. 10.* he would not wear two coats, nor shoes, nor take care or thought for the morrow. Such also was his love to, and zeal for the truth, and constant professors of it, that in times of persecution he frequently exposed himself to so great and eminent dangers, as he could not have escaped, had not the divine power in a marvellous manner preserved him; he was sometimes so narrowly watched, and closely pursued by his persecutors, that he could no way pass safely through *Alexandria*, being forced oftentimes to change his Lodgings, that so he might avoid them; yet would he not forbear to visit those that were imprisoned, yea and accompany such as were condemned, unto the places of execution, boldly embracing, kissing, and saluting them to his no small hazard, so that once the multitude in their rage had stoned him to death, had he not been even miraculously defended from them and preserved.

Lib. 2. annal.
Beliorum.

It shall suffice concerning his worth every way, to add but a testimony or two more to what hath been already said, *Origenes ille (inquit Aventinus) maximus omnium secundum legatos Christi, veritatis divina assertor, magnâ famâ,*

fama, majori gloria celestes literas interpretatus est; & Philosophiam Christianam magnâ auditorum frequentiâ publicè docuit. Cultoribus quoque deorum venerabilis, ad Imperatores Romanos, Cæsares Augustos matresque eorum in aulam vocatus accessit, ad eosdem literas dedit. Omnibus ejus vita, mores, studium, doctrina, admirationi fuerunt. Vincentius Lyrinensis more largely thus speaks of him. In him, saith he, so many excellent, singular, and wonderful things are to be found, that at first a Man would easily judge all his assertions were to be assented unto: for if the life give any Authority, his industry, purity, patience, and sufferings were great, if his stock and learning, what more noble? springing from a Family made Illustrious by Martyrdom. Moreover, for Christ was he deprived not only of his Father, but also of all his substance, he proceeded so far in the straits of poverty, that he was oftentimes afflicted for the confession of the name of Christ: such also was the strength of his Wit, profound, sharp, and elegant, that by much and far he excelled well nigh all others; so great was his knowledge and learning that they were but few things in divine, and almost none in humane Philosophy that he thoroughly attained not unto? What was there so difficult to be perswaded, that by the force of disputation he cleared not up? What so hard to be done, that he made not to seem easie? His speech being so pleasant, delightful and sweet, that to me their seemed to flow from his mouth, not so much words, as honey. But perhaps, his assertions were woven only with knotty arguments? Nay ve-

Contra hæ-
ref. cap. 2.

rily, never any of the Masters did use more examples of the divine Law. But (you'll say) I believe he wrote but little; no mortal Man more: so that I have not only not read all his Books, but it seems even impossible to find them all: and lest any thing should be wanting in him requisite unto the attaining of knowledge, fulness of Age also abounded. But perhaps he was not happy in his Scholars? who ever more happy? sith innumerable Doctors, Priests, Confessors, and Martyrs came from his bosom. Besides, who can express how great admiration, glory, and favour, he had amongst all men? Who any way religious did not fly unto him from the utmost parts of the World? Who among Christians did not reverence him as almost a Prophet; among Philosophers, as a Master? How much he was respected, not only by those of a private condition, but also the Empire it self, Histories do declare, that report him to have been sent for by the Mother of *Alexander* the Emperour, for the worth of his Heavenly Wisdom. His Epistles also testify the same, which in the authority of a Christian Master, he wrote unto *Philip*, the first among the Roman Emperours that was a Christian, concerning whose incredible knowledge, if any one will not receive the testimony of us Christians reporting it, yet at least let him believe the confession of the Heathen Philosophers affirming it. For that impious *Porphyrius* saith, that he was by the fame of him, stirred up, (when almost but a child) to go unto *Alexandria*, and that there he saw him being now aged; but surely such a one, and so great

great, as that he had gotten unto the very top of all knowledge. Time would fail me to speak even but a little of the things, which were in that Man, which notwithstanding appertain not only unto the glory of Religion, but the greatness of temptation: for who would not use that sentence, (*viz.* of Cicero, concerning *Plato*) that he had rather err with *Origen*, than be of a right judgement with others? Thus far *Vincentius*.

Origen thus every way excellent was withal a wonderfully industrious and laborious Man, πολυμαθὴς καὶ φιλοπυλὸς: *inquit Athanasius*, wholly spending his time and improving his vast abilities in the work of the Lord and for the behoof of the Church: and this he did; partly by Preaching: for which employment he was compleatly furnished, being so familiarly acquainted with, and ready in the holy Scriptures, which he abundantly made use of, beautifying and adorning therewith (as with so many precious gems) his discourses throughout: *Gentium Testimonia nusquam adhibet, nisi quoties id res ipsa postulat, quum nullum autorum genus non exactè tenuerit: sed totus hujus Sermo (inquit Erasmus) Sacrorum Voluminum sententiis undique seu gemmis emblematis distinctus est, sed adeò commodè & in loco insertis, ut nibilo secius currat oratio: dicas esse non ascita, sed ibi nata; non aliunde quæsitæ, sed suâ sponte præsto esse.* And this he did the rather, (and I therefore add it because it is a notable testimony, that the Scriptures at that time were read by all sorts of persons, in the vulgar Tongue, or that in use among them) because in that Age

In Math. 12. 32. & in decret. Nicen. Synod.

Erasm. in vit. tæ Origeni.

Erasm. lib. 1.

the common people did understand the words of the Scripture, being frequently exercised in the reading of the sacred Volumes. For then even Weavers and Spinsters had those Books at home, which as often as they had leisure, they carefully perused: neither to the understanding of them was their need of any other Language, than that which the illiterate vulgar did make use of: and certainly that reading brought this profit with it, that they came in the Church more docile or teachable before him that expounded the mysteries of the Scriptures unto them. He had an admirable faculty of speaking *ex tempore*, as he did many of those Homilies which were thought worthy of the publick view, such were his six and twenty Homilies upon *Joshua: Oratiuncula viginti sex in Jesum Nave, quas ex tempore in Ecclesiâ peroravit Adamantius senex ex Græco Latinè tibi pro virium mearum parvitate diffèrni: inquit Ruffinus.* Also his explanation of the Epistle to the Romans. His sixteen Homilies upon *Leviticus, &c. quotidie & quasi ex tempore Scripturas ad populum enarrabat.* Of which kind of speaking *Meric Casaubon* thus reports in his Treatise of Enthusiasm. For that faculty of the Sophists (saith he) of extemporary speaking upon any subject, it was their common profession, that is most certain: and it was accordingly performed by many of them, with singular dexterity, to the great amazement of all their Au-

Ruffin. in
prefat. ad
Chromatium

In perorat.
Translator.
Sixt. Senenf.
Bibl. lib. 4.

Chap. 4. of
Rhetorical
Enthusiasm.

Such a one
was Boethius
cujus facilitas
apud
Tarienses
maxima vi-
debatur, ad-
dèd ut ex tempore meo magno, impetu ad- omnem datam materiam de-
ret. Strab. Geo-graph. lib. 14.

ditors: such was *Callisthenes* the Sophist or Philosopher: The *Tarsenses* of *Asia*, are by the Ancients noted, as for their love to Learning in general, so particularly to have excelled in this faculty: —And *Quintilian* a sober solid Man, makes this a chief end and fruit of long pains and exercises in the Art of Rhetorick, to attain to such a faculty as to be able upon any sudden occasion, to speak pertinently without any premeditation: thus he. *Origen* was also very zealous and lively in his delivery: for he loved the things which he spake, and of such we use to speak with affection and delight. His Sermons were commonly short, for he would never exceed an hour, lest he should cloy his Auditors, judging it better to preach often than long. In reproving he always remembered Christian moderation; sharp he would be, yet never bitter; but for nothing he would more blame them, then for seldom and slack coming to the hearing of the Word, and for oscitancy when they came, accounting diligence or negligence this way one principal note of proficiency or deficiency in Piety. He observed this method: First, plainly and briefly to expound the History; then would he stir them up to observe the Mystical and Allegorical sense; and lastly, handle some moral places, making application of what he had delivered and untold.

Partly also by writing did he improve his abilities; and dictating unto those that wrote; whereunto of himself he was backward, but set upon it by the instigation of *Ambrose*, (*Christiane fidei confessor insignis, inquit Tribemius, qui etiam ad officium diaconatus*

*Erasm. in vi.
tâ Origen.*

*Sext. Senen.
lib. 4.*

*Erasm. in vi.
tâ Origen.*

*Erasm. ibid.
Euseb. lib. 6.
cap 21.*

*De Script.
Ecclie.*

Vir nobilis
& non inele-
gantis inge-
nit. Hiero-
nym. in Ca-
talog.

tus meruit promoveri, vir certè doctissimus, & librorum studiosus amator.) who pressed him hereunto above measure, giving him no rest, and exacted from him a continual or daily task.

Apolog. ad-
vers. Rufin.
lib. 2.

Epist. 65.
Pammach.

Isidor. Hi-
spal. in
Orig. lib. 6.
cap. 7.

Apolog. ad-
vers. Rufin.
lib. 2.

Hieronym.
Epist. 65.
Vincent.
Lyrineus.

Aul. Gell.
post. Attic.
lib. 3. cap.
10.

Hist. Nat.
lib. 29. c. 4.

August. de
Civ. dei.
lib. 6. cap. 2.

His works were innumerable, written by himself, and others from his mouth; many whereof *Jerom* saith, he had gotten together and perused: but not all; For who of us, saith he, can read so much as he wrote? Some affirm, as from *Jerom*, that he composed six thousand Volumes; though yet *Jerom* himself deny it; For, saith he, look over the Catalogue of his Books contained in the third Volume of the life of *Pamphilus* written by *Eusebius*, and you shall not find the third part of that number; yet did he utter above a thousand Tracts in the Church, and besides set forth Commentaries innumerable: in a word, no man ever wrote more: for which cause *Suidas* styles him *συγγραφεύς*, or the Composer. *Jerom* in his Epistle unto *Paula*, the Mother of *Eustochium*, (now not extant) reckons up all the Monuments of *Origens* Wit, comparing him unto that learned *Varro*, who by that time he had arrived unto the age of eighty four years: (which yet it seems, he exceeded; for *Pliny* mentions the eighty and eighth of his age) had written four hundred and ninety Books; of whom *Terentianus* a *Carthaginian* Poet thus speaks. *Vir doctissimus undecunq; Varro, qui tam multa legit, ut aliquando scribere vacasse miremur; tam multa scripsit, quàm multa vix quemquam legere potuisse credamus.* Such another was *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, surnamed also *Chalcenterus*,

centerus, (Nobilis grammaticus, qui Julii Caesaris ævo floruit) quod indefesso labore libris consideret, who is reported to have written above three thousand and five hundred Books, as *Mensius*, and *Suidas*: four thousand (saith *Seneca*) but withal handling such trivial things, (*quæ (inquit) erant dediscenda, si scires*) that it cannot be said of him, as *Erasmus* of *Origen*; *In Origene nihil ineptum aut redundans.* Briefly, his Works were such and so many, That (saith the learned *Daille*) had we them all intire, they would perhaps be able to give us more light and satisfaction about the present Controversies in Religion, than all the rest of the Fathers.

His Works on the Scriptures are by *Jerom* distinguished into three sorts or classes; (*& nullam scripturæ partem ille prætermisit, in quâ non scripserit, inquit Erasmus.*) the first sort he calls *χολία*; *ociosa*; i. e. brief Annotations upon obscure and difficult places, when he had not leisure to frame a full and just Commentary: The second sort, *ὁμιλιτικὰ*, or *homilies*, that he preached unto the people publickly. *Homilia est familiaris & domestica divinæ Scripturæ ad plebem elucidatio; cujus scopus est explicare & hortari seu applicare:* The third sort, *τόμοι*, (which saith *Erasmus*, he wrote himself) Books or Volumes, *majoris disputationis*, wherein he disputes at large, spreading the sail of his wit to the full, and lanching out into the deep: which title he himself, saith *Jerom*, gave unto his Commentaries. To which three, *Eusebius* adds two other, viz. *ἐπιστολικόν*, i. e. *Epistolare*; in quo *questiones ex divinâ scripturâ, amicorum literis*

Mireus in not. in Hieronym. catalog.

In notis in Helych. de viris illustrib.

Epist. 83.

In censur. Orig. in lib. Job. Treat. of the use of the Fathers: lib. 1. cap. 1.

In Prolog. ante homil. Origen. in Ezech.

In censur. in lib. Origen. Vid. Sixt. Senens. lib. 3. vacationes. p. 167. Cent. 3. cap. 10.

Sixt. Senens. biblioth. lib. 3.

In vitâ Origen.

Isido. Hispa. Orig. lib. 8. c. 8.

Epist. 65. Pamrach.

Sixt. Senens. lib. lib. 4.

*ad se missas, rescriptis explicavit Epistolis. Ex
ἐγμνευτικόν, interpretivum, in quo genere de-
mum ponende sunt omnes Scripture divine
translationes, quas ipse, in Hexaplis, Octaplis,
& Palestine editionis codicibus complexus
est.*

Of these his Labours, but few are now ex-
tant, and they in Latine; and of those that
are lost, the names of few are remaining at
this day: So great were the endeavours of
those, who (because of his errors) sought to
suppress his Writings, that they would not
suffer so much as the very Titles to remain;
wherein they shewed more Zeal than Discre-
tion and Wisdom; for surely, might we have
been so happy as to have enjoyed all that he
wrote, the errors found in them might the
better have been born with, being counter-
vail'd, and by much over-ballanced by what
in them was sound and Orthodox. Of how
great esteem his Works were among the An-
cients, may be gathered from hence, that di-
vers of them thought it well worth their time
and pains to translate much of what he
wrote; *Jerom* tells us, that he himself tran-
slated seventy Books of his: *Ruffine* not a
few, though not so faithfully; *Hilary* tran-
slated almost forty thousand Verses, *Quadra-
ginta ferme millia versuum*; of *Origen* upon
Jab, and the *Psalms*: And *Victorinus* many
things, *non ut interpretes, sed ut auctores pro-
prii operis*, and the Books of *Ambrose*, almost
all of them are full of the sayings of this
man.

*Erasin. in
censur. lib.
Origen.*

*Scultr. in
Medull.*

*In Apolog.
i. advers.
Ruffin.*

*Hieronym.
Epist. 69. &
Apolog. i.
advers.
Ruffin.*

§ 3. Of the almost innumerable number
of

of those that are lost, we find recorded in divers Authors these following.

1. His Collections and Collations of the Translations of the Old Testament: a Work of huge bulk, collected with great pains, and composed with no less diligence; requiring no small cost to procure, nor less labour to peruse it. An excellent piece, and of admirable use and advantage; which fill'd all the famous Libraries in those times: highly commended even by *Epiphanius* himself, no friend to *Origen*; Herein (saith he) he did well and profitably; I would he had done others things as well. These were of three sorts.

Baron. ad an. 331.

Hieronym. in præfat. in Josuam.

Field of the Church. lib. 4. c. 26.

Lib. de Mensur.

1. He compiled that work which he named *Tetrapla*, or his fourfold interpretation; consisting of the Translations;

1. Of the *Septuagint*.

2. Of *Aquila* of *Pontus*; who was first a Gentile, then a Christian; but being for his obstinacy in the practice of *Astrology*, and calculating *Nativities*, excommunicated, he became a Jewish Proselite, and was accordingly circumcised, being *semi-Judeus, semi-Christians*, and having learned the Hebrew tongue, he translated the Old Testament into Greek; about the year of Christ 129. which he did, to the end, that as much as in him lay, he might subvert the Prophecies of Christ; for which cause *Epiphanius* call him *Judaizantem hereticum*.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 16. Epiphani. lib. de mensur. Miræus. in notis in Catalog. Hieronym.

Buxtorf. Epist. dedicat. ante lex Hebr.

Miræus in auctar. de Script. Eccles.

3. Of *Theodotion*, of *Pontus* also: Or, as *Tribemius*, an *Ephesian*: who being first a Christian; (but then a follower of those arch-Hereticks, *Tatianus*, *Marcion* and *Ebion*) afterwards

De Script. Eccles.

Sext. Senens. bibl. lib. 4.

Buxtorf.
Ibid.

Præfat. in
lib. Job.

Bellarmin. de
verb. dei.
lib. 2. cap. 5

Hieronym.
præfat. in
Dan.

Sixt. Senens.
bibl. lib. 4.

Bellarmin.
Ibid.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 16.

Buxtorf.
Ibid.

Euseb. ibid.

ward turned Jew ; and having been among them well instructed in the Hebrew Tongue, he also translated the Old Testament into Greek : In the year of Christ 180. whom *Jerom* reckons among the Judaizing Hereticks ; he was more faithful in his Translation than the former ; and therefore did the Churches of Christ always use to read the Prophet *Daniel*, not according to the *Septuagint*, but *Theodotions* Interpretation or Edition.

4. Of *Symmachus* : he was a *Samaritan*, ranked among their wise men, but not having that honour from them which he expected, he fell to the Jews, and was circumcised the second time ; *Si quidem arte medicâ & certis instrumentis (spatisterem appellant) Judæi solebant reseclum præputium iterum super inducere, sive attrahere ; & hoc est quod Apostolus ait, 1 Cor. 7. 18. Qui circumcissus vocatus est, non adducat præputium : vel, ut clariùs sonant verba Græca, μὴ ἐπιστρέψω, i. e. non attrahatur.* But living ingloriously among these also, he became a Christian, embracing the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, who held that Christ was a mere man, and born of *Joseph* and *Mary*. He translated the Old Testament into Greek, not word for word, as *Aquila* had done, but according to the sense thereof : *non verbum ex verbo, sed sententias ex sententiis reddidit* : about the year of Christ 200. This Translation, *Origen* saith, he found at *Cæsarea* with a certain woman named *Juliana*, which saith, that *Symmachus* delivered it her to keep.

2. To the four above named, he added two more, viz, the Hebrew Text in Hebrew Letters

Letters. And again, the same Text in the Greek Characters, for the help of those that could not read the Hebrew: These Texts with the former four interpretations were set one beside another; each page being divided into six distinct columns for that purpose; for which cause he intituled the work *Hexapla*, as the former *Tetrapla*, and the following *Octopla*, for the like reason; each page having in the one four, as in the other eight columns. *Erasmus* rather approves of the writing of it without an aspiration, viz. *Exapla*; ἀβ ἐξ ἀπλόω: to explain; as conceiving it to take the name not from the number of columns, but from the nature of the Work: but were it so, then might the same title have been given as well unto the foregoing and following, as unto this; the Etymology agreeing to them all alike.

Sext. Senen.
lib. 4.

In censur. in
lib. Origen.

3. To these six he added two more: which because he had found without the names of their Authors affixed to them, he called the one *Quinta*, or the fifth; and the other *Sexta*, or the sixth; the former whereof he had found in the City of *Hiericho*; the later at *Nicopolis*. These two, with the above named six made up his *Octopla*, or eight fold interpretation: wherein they were disposed or set in this order. 1. The Hebrew Text in the Hebrew Letters. 2. The Hebrew words in Greek Characters. 3. The Translation of *Aquila*. 4. That of *Symmachus*. 5. The *Septuagint*. 6. The Translation of *Theodotion*. 7. That Edition call'd the fifth. 8. That call'd the sixth. Of which *Alsted* thus speaks: *Octopla* (*inquit*) *opus laboriosum & insigne*

Sext. Senen.
Ibid.

Epiphan. de
Mensur. Ba-
ron. 231.
§ 8.
Field of the
Church, lib.
4. cap. 26.

Encyclopæd.
Hist.

Controv. de
Scriptur.
cap. 4.

In Psal. 118.
Serm. 4.

Sixt. Senens.
lib. 4.

Dever. Dei.
2. cap. 5.

Fied. lib. 4.
cap. 26.

Baron. adan.
231. § 37.

Mafius in E-
pist. dedi-
cante Jo-
suam.

Epist. Au-
gust. Numb.
89.

Prefat. in
lib. Paralip.

De Origen.
lib. 1. cap.
20.

insigne magno Ecclesie malo amissum, and not much unlike, our Learned *Whitaker*: His labour (saith he) was incredible in gathering together all these Editions: which being all thus brought into one body, proved a most Divine Work, the loss whereof is a great detriment to the Church, and well might *Ambrose* say of him; *Multorum interpretationes diligenti discussit indagine.*

4. He also set forth another Translation for daily use; composed of the *Septuagint*, and that of *Theodotion*: being a third from them both; *ita ut nova videretur*, inquit *Bellarminus*: which may be said to be, not so much a Translation, as an Emendation of the *Septuagint*: Wherein he added some things out of *Theodotions* Translation, which he found wanting in the *Septuagint*: and these additions he noted with an Asterisk or shining Star *: but those passages, *quæ Hebraicè non erant dicta*, which were not to be found in the Hebrew, he pierced through with a Spit or Spear —. Of which *Jerom* thus speaks: *Ubiqueq; virgula, i. e. obeli sunt, significatur quod Septuaginta plus dixerint, quàm habetur in Hebræo: ubi autem asterisci, i. e. stellula prælucentes, ex Theodotionis editione ab Origine additum est.* Again: *Sed quod majoris est audacie, in editione Septuaginta, Theodotionis editionem miscuit Origines; asteriscis videlicet designans quæ minùs fuerant; & virgulis, quæ ex superfluo videbantur apposita.* *Isidore* gives us this account of the notes; *Asteriscus, inquit, apponitur in iis quæ omissa sunt, ut illucescant per eam notam quæ de esse videntur. Obelus apponitur in verbis vel sententiis superflue iteratis,*
sive

five in iis locis ubi lectio aliquâ falsitate notata est. This work he undertook, because the *Septuagint* had been, through the carelessness of Notaries and Transcribers, not a little corrupted and depraved. *Cum manum (inquit Masius) Septuaginta interpretationi admove- vere ausus est Origenes, erat etiam tum perversissima.* And though some have judged it rather a corruption, than a correction of the *Septuagint*; yet was it indeed a diligent collation of those two interpretations, and a Work very profitable unto all; it being a most accurate restitution of the *Septuagint* to its purity. Concerning which Emendation *Andreas Masius* (a man, saith *Daille*, of singular and profound Learning, yet of such candor and integrity, as renders him more admired than his Knowledge doth) thus speaks: In correcting and conserving that interpretation of the *Septuagint*, to their no small praise did *Hesychius* take great pains, *Lucianus* more, *Origen* most of all: by whose industry (he saith) he was provoked to deliver unto the age wherein he lived the *Septuagint* Translation, sound and intire in that one History of *Josuah*, as *Adamantius* had done the whole throughout. This Edition was afterwards so far approved of, that it quickly filled all Libraries, and was received and made use of in their daily readings, by all the Churches of *Palestine* and *Syria*; so that it was accounted as the vulgar Translation.

2. He wrote ten Books of Stromes; (in imitation of *Clemens* his Master, whose Work so intituled, consisteth of eight Books) wherein comparing the Scriptures and Philosophers together

Baron. adan.
231. § 36.
37.

In Epist.
dedicat. ante
Josuam.

Hieronym.
advers.
Ruffin.

Treat. of the
Fathers: lib.
1.

Epist. dedi-
cat. ante
Josuam.

Hesychius
Ægypti E-
piscopus
Marian.
Schol. in
Hieronym.
Epist. Luci-
anu: Eccle-
siaz Antio-
chenz Pre-
byter Hie-
ronym. in
Catalog.

Sixt. Senens.
lib. 4.

Hieronym.
advers. Ruf-
fin.

Hieronymus
Epist. ad
Magnum,
Numb. 34.

Sixt. Senenf.
lib. 4.

together, he confirms the Doctrine of Christianity by the sayings of those Heathens : but the two last of these Books were spent in the exposition of the Propheſie of *Daniel*, and the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*.

Euseb. lib. 6.
23.

Respons86.

Hieronym.
in præfat. in
lib. Heb.
nom.

3. His Books of the Interpretation of Hebrew names contained in the Scriptures : mentioned by the Author of the answers unto certain questions propounded by the Orthodox, falsely ascribed unto *Justin Martyr*: which *Jerom* (who herein imitated him) reckons among the excellent Monuments of his Wit, wherein he took pains as a Christian, to supply, what *Philo*, as a Jew, had omitted.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 23.
Cent. 3. cap.
10.

4. Of the Resurrection, two Books.

5. Of Prayer.

Hieronym.
advers.
Ruffin.

Adan. 23.
§ 7.

6. A Dialogue between him and one *Candidus* a Defender of the Valentinian Hereſie; In whom (saith *Jerom*) I confess I have beheld (as it were) two *Andabate*, or blind-folded Champions encountring each other. Of *Baronius* thus: *Non (inquit) πᾶσι ἀρετῶν, tantum pluribus scatebat erroribus, sed & blasphemis refertissimus dialogus ille erat, quoniam Candido heretico de dogmatibus suis disputavit.*

Euseb. l. 6.
cap. 27.

7. Of Martyrdom, or a Book of Martyrs: which he dedicated unto *Ambrose* and *Prothetatus* Ministers of *Cæsarea*; for that they both suffered no small affliction, enduring most constantly examination and confession, in the time of *Maximinus* the Emperour, a cruel persecutor: who (out of spite that he bare unto the house of *Alexander* his Predecessor, which harboured many of the faithful)

An. 237.

ful) gave commandment that the Governors only of the Churches, as principal Authors of the Doctrine of our Saviour, should be put to death. Of which Book, saith *Vincentius Bellovacensis* : *Scribit tantâ diſcrimiâ spiritus virtute, ut ejus ſententiis tanquam validiſſimis nervis multos ad martyrium ſtabiliret.*

In ſpecul.
Hiſt. lib. 11.
cap. 11. &
Haymo hiſt.
Eccleſ. lib.
6. cap. 3.

8. Above an hundred Epiſtles, which being ſcattered here and there, were collected and comprised by *Eusebius* in ſeveral volumes, to the end they ſhould be no more diſperſed.

Lib. 6. cap.
35.

9. Five Books againſt Hereticks.

Trithem. de
Script.

10. An Epitome of the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*.

Bellarmin. de
Script.

Moreover, he commented upon moſt of the Books of the Old and New Teſtament : of which Works of his, beſides thoſe now extant, theſe are recorded in ſeveral Authors, viz.

I. Upon the Old Teſtament.

1. A continued explanation of the four firſt Chapters of *Genesis*, in thirteen Tomes ; but twelve ſaith *Eusebius*.

Sext. Senenſ.
lib. 4.

2. One Book of Annotations upon *Exodus*; alſo the like upon *Leviticus*.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 23.

3. One Homily upon the Song of *Hannah*, 1 King. 2.

Sext. Senenſ.
Ibid.

4. One Homily upon *Solomon's* judgement between the two Harlots 2 King. 3.

5. Many Homilies or Tracts upon the Books of *Job*.

Ibid.

6. A brief exposition, or an Enchiridion upon the whole Book of *Psalms*: also larger explanations thereupon at the request of *Ambrose*. He was the first (saith *Jerom*) that commented upon the whole *Psalter*. *Trithemius* saith that he wrote one hundred and fifty Tracts upon the *Psalms*; which equals the number of them.

De Script.
Ecclef.Sext. Senenf.
Ibid.

7. A Commentary upon the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*.

De verb. dei.
lib. 1. cap. 4.

8. Explanations upon the Book *Ecclesiastes*. *Kimedoncius* cites a Testimony out of *Origen* *Homil. 1. in Ecclesiasten*.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 31.Prolog. in
Cantic.

9. Ten Books of Commentaries upon the *Canticles*: five whereof he wrote at *Athens*; the other five returning from *Cesarea*. A worthy Work requiring much time, labour and cost to translate, for which cause *Jerom* omitted it, and would not attempt or adventure upon it. In this Work, containing well nigh twenty thousand Verses, he discourseth so magnificently and clearly, (saith *Jerom*) that as in the rest he overcame all others, so in this he overcame himself.

Ibid.

Sext. Senenf.
lib. 4.

10. Annotations upon the whole Prophecie of *Esay*: also continued explanations from the first Chapter unto the thirtieth; of which, thirty Tomes came to our hands, saith *Eusebius*: together with two Books upon the thirtieth Chapter.

Lib. 6. cap.
31.

11. A huge number of Homilies upon *Jeremy*, the most whereof are lost.

Lib. 6. cap.
23.

12. Upon the *Lamentations* nine Tomes: Of which (saith *Eusebius*) we have seen five.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 31.

13. Upon *Ezekiel* twenty and five Tomes, the

the which he wrote being at *Athens* : besides many Homilies.

Sixt. Senenf.
lib. 4.

14. Upon the twelve Minor Prophets many Tracts, Whereof (saith *Eusebius*) we have found twenty and five in the whole, which *Jerom* saith, he found copied out by *Pamphilus* among these were : one upon *Hosea* ; of which *Jerom* thus : *Origenes parvum de hoc Prophetâ scripsit Libellum, cui hunc titulum imposuit, περὶ τῶς ὡς ἀνομάζει ἐν τῷ ὡσὲν ἐφραΐμ, i. e. quare in Osee appellatur Ephraim, volens ostendere, quæcunque contra eum dicuntur, ad hæreticorum referenda personam, &c.*

Lib. 6. cap. 35.

In Catalog. Pamphilus.

In præfat. in Osee.

II. Upon the New Testament.

1. Upon *Matthew*, one Book containing his *Scholia*, or brief Annotations upon obscure places : Also, twenty five Homilies upon divers places of the Gospel. Six and twenty, saith *Trithemius* ; and *Nicephorus* speaks of five Books of his upon *Matthew*.

Sixt. Senenf.
lib. 4.

Descript.
Eccles.

Hist. Eccles.
lib. 5. cap. 19.

2. Upon *Luke* five Tomes ; and many Homilies.

Sixt. Senenf.
lib. 4.

3. Upon the Epistle to the *Galatians* five Tomes ; also one Book ἐκλόγων, or of choice passages : besides not a few Homilies.

Ibid.

4. Upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians* three Volumes or Commentaries ; of which *Jerom* makes mention in these words. *Illud quoque in præfatione commoneo, ut sciatis Origenem tria volumina in hanc Epistolam conscripsisse ; quem et nos ex parte secuti sumus.*

Apolog. i. advers. Rufin. & in præm. ante comment. in Ephes.

5. Upon the Epistle to the *Colossians* three books.

Sixt. Senens.
lib. 4.
Epist. 153.
Alexand. &
Minerio.

6. Upon the first Epistle of the *Thessalonians* divers books: for *Jerom* maketh mention of the third volumn upon this Epistle; wherein, saith he, he discourseth with much variety and prudence.

7. Upon the Epistle to *Titus*, one book.

Sixt. Senens.
lib. 4.

8. Upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews* many books: all which through the injury of time, and violence of his adversaries, are lost, and now not to be found.

The books that are extant at this day under his name, are these following;

1. Seventeen Homilies upon the book of *Genesis*; which are said to be interpreted by *Jerom* whose name is prefixed to them, but falsely, as *Cryneus* supposeth: for indeed it was done by *Ruffinus*, as appears by the liberty that he takes, to add detract and change what he pleased: which it seems was his manner: *sed hæc non est, inquit Erasmus, libertas interpretis sed licentia potius contaminantis scripta aliena.* Again, *Ruffinus peculiaris est ista temeritas, (viz. ea quæ veritas, truncare, augere, immutare, & ex alieno opere suum facere) cujus unicum studium fuisse videtur, omnes illustrium autorum libros, atrectando contaminare. Hæc arte vir gloriæ cupidus, putavit se reperisse viam, quâ vel in vitis omnibus tereretur manibus hominum.* Certainly, saith the Learned *Daille*, he hath

Eras. in lib.
Orig. cens.

In epist. ante
Hilar.

Eras. cens. de
comment. in
ep. ad Rom.

Id. in cens. in
hom. in Levi.

Treat. of the
Fath. l. 1. c. 4.

so filthily mangled and so licentiously confounded the writings of *Origen*, which he hath translated into Latine; that you will hardly find a page where he hath not either cut off, or added, or at least altered something. A foul fault in a translator, in whom fidelity, as the chief vertue is required and most commendable. Such is his dealing in this kind, that the Reader is often uncertain whether he read *Origen* or *Ruffinus*. Which thing *Jerom* often and tartly taxeth him for: and particularly for his unworthy translation of his book of principles, or *Ὁμολογία*, which he calls, and that fitly enough, and not without just cause, an infamous interpretation: Let it suffice once for all to have given this hint of the manner of *Ruffine* in his translation of divers books of *Origen*. And that this translation of these Homilies upon *Genesis* is his, appears from what *Ruffine* himself hath said in his Peroration added unto the Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, wherein he professeth that he translated *Origen* upon *Genesis*: And probable it is, that the transcribers prefixed *Jeroms* name as the more gracious and acceptable. *Grynæus* hath taken pains for the benefit of the Reader to set down, as he hath done before all the rest of the works of *Origen* in his Edition of them, the several Theological Common places handled in these homilies: adding moreover that by them the diligent Reader will confess, that he hath light upon a rich storehouse of Christian Philosophy, replenished with all kind of Spiritual treasures.

See an addition In hom. 15. de verbo corrupti

Sculptet. in medall. Apol. adver. Ruffin.

Epist. 16. ad Principiam Virginem.

Ante hom. In Gen.

Eras. in cens.
hom. in Gen.

2. Upon *Exodus* thirteen Homilies; translated also by *Ruffinus*; though for the gaining of the more credit unto them, the name of *Jerom* be here also prefixed as the interpreter of them.

Suppl. Berg.

Eras. ib.

Grynæus
ante libr.
Sext. Senens.
1. 4.

3. Upon *Leviticus* sixteen Homilies; eighteen say some: where the same craft is made use of in the alteration of the name of the translator as in the former. By some overbold impostor, these are ascribed unto *Cyril of Alexandria*, under the title of so many books, or a Commentary: whereas it is manifest, they are not Commentaries, but Homilies: for the Author excuseth his brevity to his auditors, by reason of the straits of time; and that he intended not a large exposition of the words, but to touch some few things briefly for their edification: The stile, saith *Bellarmino*, and similitude of the Doctrines contained in them, shew them plainly to be *Origens*.

De script.
Ecclesi.

Trithem. de
script.
Grynæus. &
Merlin.

In perorat. in
ad Roman.

In cens. in
libr. Origen.

In loc.
Rivet. Crit.
Sac.

4. Upon *Numbers*, twenty eight Homilies: (some say, but twenty six. *Cent. 3. cap. 10. Sext. Senens. lib. 4. and Scultetus in Medullâ*) which its likely was translated by *Jerom*; because *Ruffine* speaking of his translation of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Josuah*, and *Judges*, makes no mention of *Numbers*: and, saith *Erasmus* out of *Gennadius*, *Ruffin* translated all of *Origen*, except what was done by *Jerom*. Yet that there are some additions of the interpreter in this piece is apparent, saith *Grynæus*, in homil. 2. in cap. 2. Yea these Homilies by their phrase seem to be the work of some Latine Author; for in Chap. 12. he expounds the difference between *excudere* and

enci-

excidere : which could have no place in a Greek.

5. Upon *Josuah*, twenty and six Homilies; where we have also the name of *Jerom* as the interpreter, instead of *Ruffine* : as also a Preface pretended to be his; but so frigid and and foolish, that a more certain argument cannot be desired to perswade us, that neither the one, nor other is *Jeroms* : and *Erasmus* gives instance in divers particulars.

Erasmus censuræ sunt, ut quæ abundant solocismis. Per. in problemat.

6. Upon *Judges* nine Homilies : where we have the same mistake of the interpreter; *liber inquit Grynæus satis bonus*. Here also the Etymology of *rex à regendo*, gives cause to suspect, that these came out of the same shop, with those upon *Numbers*.

Erasmus. ib.

7. Upon the book of the *Kings*, or one Homily upon the first and second Chapters of the first of *Samuel*.

Questionable Riv. Cri. Sac.

8. Upon the book of *Job*, a large explanation, divided into three books; from the beginning of the History unto the middle of the third Chapter. A Learned piece it is; and worth the reading: but both the stile and method shew it to be none of *Origen*, both being far different from his. Those Commentaries, saith *Usher*, upon *Job* are wrongly ascribed unto *Origen*. Also the Author is full of Battologies or repetitions of the same sentence, which certainly is not the manner of *Origen*. For my part, saith *Erasmus*, I suppose him to be a Latinist, and to have written in Latine: for he speaks of the Greek as not his own Language, and interprets the word *Adamantius* to signifie

Sext. Sen. l. 4.

Ans. to Jo. suis abail.

Sext. Senens. lib. 4.

In censur.

Coci censur.

- in Greek, *indomabilis, inflexibilis*: and saith he, *Lucianus, cognominatus est tanquam Lucius*. He was one of free speech fit to teach the vulgar, but withal an *Arian*, as is clear from divers passages; and therefore it cannot be *Origen's* work; for *Arians* arose many years after him. Besides, he brings in the exposition of *Lucianus* the Martyr in the third Chapter, who suffered under *Maximinus*, refutes the *Manichees* in the seventh and eighth Chapter, and makes mention of the *Homousianists*; none of which were known till after the time of *Origen*; The Preface, saith *Erasmus*, or Prologue set before it, is of some prating fellow, that had neither learning nor modesty in him, unless the concealing of his name may be so interpreted: Surely he had little skill in the Latine (yet, saith *Possesine*, *commentarii hi sunt perversti & pereruditi viri*.) The whole being nothing else but meer and miserable stammering. *Prefatio, inquit Erasmus, testatur hoc opus ab aliis nonnullis fuisse versum sed neq; bonâ fide neq; doctè, dum ex benè Græcis, reddunt malè Latina: quum ipse qui hæc præfatur, reipsâ declarat, se fuisse hominem, qui nec Latine sciret, nec ingenio aut eruditione valeret; sed qui tanto plus haberet arrogantie, quanto minus habebat peritiæ.* Yet are these Commentaries made use of as *Origen's*, by the *Pomificians* to prove their Doctrines, of the Invocation of Saints, oblations for the dead, abstinence from flesh in Lent and for giving of alms upon funeral days for the salvation of souls. *Erasmus* conjectureth the Author to have been one *Maximinus* a Bishop,

Eras. in cens.

Locutulei.

Eras. in cens.

In apparent.

In Epist.
antè Hilar.Dr. Jam. of
the corrupt.
of the Fa-
thers.Coci Censur.
In censur.

shop, whose disputations with *Augustine* are extant.

9. Certain Homilies upon three of the *Psalms*, viz. Five upon the six and thirtieth; two upon the seven and thirtieth, and two upon the eight and thirtieth; in all nine: τα ἡθικὰ, sunt optima, inquit *Gyneus*, allegoria frigida. *Erasmus* is doubtful, whether they be his or no; for they do scarce express his wit and phrase, but come neerer unto that of *Chrysostom*: he thinks it was some Latine, that wrote them: which may be guessed from hence, that in explicating divers texts; he tells us how they are in Latine, how in Greek: which was not the manner of the Greeks to do; for they little, or not at all cared for the Latine Tongue. But if *Ruffine* translated it, he according to his custom, made that his own by defiling it, which was another mans: Yet having observed the weakness of the Preface, I can hardly think, saith *Erasmus*, that *Ruffine* was so very a Child: who, if not so much by Art, yet certainly by nature was eloquent enough: but if any contend, that *Ruffine* is sometime foolish this way, I will not much oppose, so it be confessed that the genius of this work, doth not resemble the happiness of *Origen*. *Bellarmino* gives this hint of them, that some do doubt whether they be his or no: And *Sculterus* reckons this and the immediately preceding, to have crept in among the works of *Origen*, but to belong indeed unto others. Yet from hence also do those of *Rome* fetch authorities, as from *Origen*, for the proof of their tenets concerning

In Censur.

Coci Censur.

Erasm. cens.

De script.
Eccles.

In Medull.

Dr. Jam. of
the corrupt,
of the Fa-
thers.
Coci Censur.

purgatory, auricular confession, the vertues of the Crofs, that wicked men do eat the body of Chrif in the Sacrament, and that the Book of *Judith* is authentick.

Cent. 3. c. 10. 10. Upon the *Canticles*. 1. Two Homilies; *explanationis prioris*.

Erasm. in
censur.

In censur.

In cens. in
lib. Origen.

Post. homil.
in Cantic.

Bib.loth.
San. 2. lib. 4.

In catalogo.

Epist. Dama-
so.
1. c.

2. Four Homilies, upon the two first Chapters of the Book; *explanationis posterioris*: or rather a continued imperfect Commentary. But they are indeed neither *Origens* nor *Jeroms*, but a work of some Latin Author, well learned and sufficiently eloquent: for, he quotes the Greeks in his Prologue as Strangers, and interprets some Latin words. *Verbum dei, inquit, apud Græcos masculino genere: ex hoc (inquit Cocus) evidenter perspicitur, non Græcum, sed Latinum fuisse autorem.* Erasmus suspects them to be his, who wrote the Books *de vocatione gentium*, and certain Commentaries upon the *Psalms*, which go under the name of *Ambrose*. *Merlin* on the other side, is very confident that they are *Origens*, as (saith he) the sagacious Reader will easily perceive; though his reason be weak enough to ground even a conjecture upon: yea himself confesseth that the stile differs from *Origens*; for which cause some deny it to be his. It is (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) a pious, learned, and eloquent work; or rather a fragment, in which the two first Chapters are excellently expounded, having in some ancient Copies *Jerom's* name prefixed to it: who indeed mentions four Homilies written by himself upon the *Canticles*.

Jerom's Preface is prebix to both of these; in the former whereof he thus speaks; *hos*
duos

duos tractatus, quos in morem quotidiani eloquii parvulis adhuc latentibus composuit, fideliter magis quàm ornatè interpretatus sum, gustum tibi sensuum ejus, non cibum offerens. Tu (Damase Papa) animadvertas quanti sint illa estimanda que magna sunt, quum sic possunt placere que parva sunt.

11. Nine Homilies upon divers places of the Prophecy of Esay, especially upon the sixth Chapter, which fragment was by *Jerom* (as himself confesseth) turned into Latin. It wants a Preface, which (because it was *Jerom's* manner to set a Preface before what he translated) *Erasmus* supposeth to be taken away by those to whom he wrote, after that the name of *Origen* became odious or envied at Rome: For very likely it is, that therein he spake highly in commendation of his Wit, as he doth in his Prologue before the Commentaries upon *Ezekiel*. Yet notwithstanding the Historical errors (saith *Grynæus*) the Doctrines so weak and waterish, and the frigid Allegories (*indignissima Origine & Hieronymo*) together with the Barbarism of the Translation, do, I think abundantly shew, that neither *Origen* was the Author, nor *Jerom* the Translator of them.

Erasm. in censur.

Ante homil. in Esai.

12. Upon *Jeremiah* fourteen Homilies, whereof *Jerom* was the Translator; which are the only remaining of a huge number upon this Prophecy. These and the following are (saith *Grynæus*) *Origene & Hieronymo dignæ*.

Sext. Senens. lib. 4.

13. Upon *Ezekiel* fourteen Homilies, translated also by *Jerom*, as appears both by his own Testimony (*in Hieremiam & Ezechielem Homilias*)

Erasm. in censur.

In catalog. *Homilias Origenis viginti octo è Græco in Latinum verti*) and also by the Preface which is undoubtedly his, because *Ruffine* out of it objects a passage against him.

14. Upon *Matthew*, his Commentaries; which are to be ranked among his *Tomes* as the Greek Titles declare; though some have imprudently divided them into *Tracts* or *Homilies*: whereas there is not the least footstep of that kind of writing to be found in them: for his *Homilies* always end in a *Doxology*, having sometimes a short *Prayer* joyned therewith. It contains thirty eight *Homilies* say some; but thirty five say others: wherein we have an exposition of a great part of this Gospel, viz. from the thirteenth unto the seven and twentyeth Chapter. It is a piece (saith *Erasmus*) most worthy to be read: *Origen* is ardent every where, but no where more, than when he handleth the sayings and doings of Christ, and in my judgement (saith he) no one of the *Evangelists* doth more fully comprehend the Life and Doctrine of Christ, then *Matthew*. Yet *Ambrose* conceiveth our Author to be far meaner in the new Testament, than in the Old. The Translator, in all probability was *Ruffine*, as may be gathered (though the Preface be wanting) from the liberty which he takes in translating: It seems (saith *Grynæus*) to be the writing of some Latin: *demptis iis quæ vertit Erasmus*: who translated a good part of this work, viz. from the thirteenth Chapter unto the twentyeth verse of the sixteenth Chapter. *Doli dubitant, an tractatus in Mattheum tribui debeant Origeni.*

Sixt. Senenf.
lib. 4.
Eras. leſto-
ri ante hunc
commentar.

Cent. 3. c. 10.
Sixt. Senenf.
Bellarm.
Grynæus. &
Merlin.

Leſtori E-
piſt. ante
comment.

Sixt. Senenf.
lib. 4.

Eras. ibid.
In lib.

Uſher. de
Brit. Ecclef.
primord.
cap. 7.

15. Upon

15. Upon *Luke* thirty and nine Homilies :
 of which without doubt *Jerom* was the Trans-
 lator, seeing he professeth so much in his
 Preface : And because they are not so elabo-
 rate, and are sprinkled with some errors
 that were condemned, he excuseth them as
 written by *Origen* when but young (as those
 upon *Matthew* when he was old.) He is no
 where in his Homilies so short and concise, as
 in these. Three and thirty of them are a
 continued exposition of this Gospel, from the
 beginning thereof unto the midst of the fourth
 Chapter. The six latter of them are an
 enarration of divers places scattered here and
 there. *Est liber optimus (inquit Gryneus)*
habet tamen aliquas salebras. It's an Inter-
 pretation (saith *Merlin*) which those that en-
 vied him have prophaned with sundry errors
 so that many think it not to be his, because of
 the many errors inserted therein.

*Erasm. in
 censur.*

*Sixt. Senens.
 lib. 4.*

*Casaub. ex-
 ercitat. 14.
 § 11.*

In lib.

In fine.

*Merlin. in
 prefat.*

16. Upon *Job* thirty and two *Tomes* :
Jerom speaks of thirty and nine, which he
 durst not undertake to translate for the Bulk
 of them. They all lay hid, till of late *Perionius*
 a Monk of *Cassinus* found nine *Tomes* of them
 in an old Greek Copy which he light on in
 the King of *France* his Library, and turned
 into Latin, yet were they in many places
 maimed and in consequent. These were
 afterward by some obscure Grecian, divided
 into thirty and two *Tomes*, that they might be
 the more desired and sell the dearer : by whom
Ambrose of *Millaiu*, a Monk of *Cassina*, was
 deluded, though a Man sagacious enough, and
 of a quick Wit, who translated and published
 them in thirty and two *Tomes* as now they
 are

*Sixt. Senens.
 lib. 4.*

Grynus: ad
calcem com-
mentar.

Bellarmin. de
Script.

In censur.

Bellarmin. de
Script.

Ante hanc
homil.

Sext. Senens.
lib. 4.

Bellarmin. de
Script.
Nullus est
ponderis
Holloix: in
quest. 2. de
vita Dionys.
Areopag.
Sext. Senens.
lib. 4.
Nec cuius
sunt authoris
nec quantæ
antiquitatis
facile sciri
potest. Hol-
loix, ibid.

are: which (saith he) in his Postscript, let the Reader know I have done with utmost diligence and fidelity, so that it is not at all changed from what it was as written by the Authour.

17. Certain Homilies upon divers places of the Evangelists: which without doubt are not all *Origens*: some of them (saith *Erasmus*) it's apparent, are not his, but of some Latin Authour, and the rest impudently corrupted by *Ruffine*. They are ten in number, whereof seven are upon certain places of *Matthew*: two upon *John*, viz, upon part of the first, and part of the twentyeth Chapters: and one upon the *Epiphany* without a certain Text. The fifth upon *Matthew*, seems to be of some Latin Authour, for, saith he, *Spiritus Sanctus* is of the Neuter Gender, not of the Masculine, as with us: where he plainly discovers himself to be a Latin. For the eighth (saith *Merlin*) many think it to be *Origens*, though it be not fully his stile. The ninth is a meer *Cento* patch't up, the former part thereof with somewhat taken out of *Origens* thirty fourth tract upon *Matthew*: the latter part, with two fragments, the one taken out of *Gregory's* Morals, chap. 14. and some others later then *Origen*: yea the stile of these fragments shew that they are none of his. The Homily upon the first of *John* is apparently none of his, there being mention made of the *Manichees* and *Arians*, both which arose long after *Origen*: and withal the Authour saith, that θεός & λόγος, *apud Græcos sunt Masculini Generis*. The Homily upon the twentyeth of *John* cannot be his, for it is clearly of a Latin stile; And if some be of

Latin

Latin Authors, the rest may justly be suspected to be so too: Yet are these cited by those of Rome as *Origen*, to prove the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, that *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* is the Authour of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and what is the use and benefit of making the sign of the Cross with the fingers.

Bellarmin. 2.
bid.
Coci censur.

18. Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Romans, in ten Books, as we have them divided by *Merlin* and *Gryneus*; though *Sixtus Senensis*, *Trithemius* and some others make them fifteen. *Jerom* is supposed to be the interpreter, though it do appear both from the preface, and especially from the peroration, that *Ruffine* was the translatour of them; who saith that he had contracted the whole work almost one half: how great an injury to deprive the Church of such a treasure? Yet is *Salmeron* of a contrary judgment upon the same grounds: *Ex Epistolâ ad Heraclium, inquit, quæ loco proximi præfigitur libris Origenis in Epist. ad Romanos, & ex peroratione, in quâ se Hieronymus interpretem illorum, non tantum verbis, sed etiam stylo satis prodis, constat Hieronymum, eos Latinos reddidisse.*

Lib. 4. bibl. oth. sanct.

Erasmi. in censur.

In prolog. antelib.

In comment. in Epist. Paul. disputat. 19.

19. Four Books, *περὶ ἀρχῶν, quod vel de principiis vel de potestatibus dici potest, inquit Ruffinus, of principles, or of powers*, which he wrote in emulation of one *Longinus* a Philosopher, well known unto him (as *Baronius* conceives) who in those times had set forth a Commentary almost of the same argument. This is the Book, the interpretation whereof occasioned so hot a contest between *Jerom* and *Ruffine* (who both performed that task) wherein especially *Jerom* chargeth him with

In prologo

Ad an. 352. 93.

falso

Hieronym.
in apolog. 2.
advers. Ruf.
fin.

Lib. 1. ad-
vers. Ruffin.
Epist. Pauli-
no. num. 153.

Epist. Ocea-
no. num. 65.

Hieronym.
Epist. 153.

Baron. ad
an. 232. § 3.

Præfat. Ruf-
fin. in lib. E-
pist. Avito.
num. 59.

false dealing, for that he added some things, subtracted others, and took liberty to change what he pleased: whereas for his part he desired faithfully to discharge the duty of an interpreter. I, saith he, simply expressed what I found in the Greek; my care was to change nothing. Again, I leave it to your judgment, what pains I did undergo in translating the Books *πρὸς ἀρχαίαν* seeing that to change any thing that was in the Greek, would not have been the part *vertentis*, *sed o-*
vertentis, of a turner or translatour, but of an overturner; and to express the same word for word, would not become him that desires to keep the elegance of speech. My end, saith he, was to discover an Heretick, that I might vindicate the Church from Heresie. And the truth is, *Origen* is no where more foully erroneous than in this Book, wherein there is more bad than good, it being full stuffed with gross errors: *Toti (inquit Scul-*
setus) scatent erroribus: so that it can hardly be believed how much in that work he betrayed the Christian Faith, which he had received from his Predecessours. And as *Plo-*
zinus said of the forenamed *Longinus*, that he was studious of Learning, yet not at all a Philosopher: so may it be truly affirmed of *Ori-*
gen, as touching this Book, that therein he meant to seem a Philosopher rather than a Christian; the truth is, it is most obscure and full of difficulties: *Scias (inquit Hieronymus)*
detestanda tibi in eis (libris πρὸς ἀρχαίαν)
esse quam plurima, & juxta sermonem Domi-
ni inter scorpiones & colubros incedendum. In the close of which Epistle he shews with what
caution

caution these Books are to be read, withal making an enumeration of the errors contained in them, it being intended by *Jerom* as an antidote against them, *Binnius* calls this piece *Multarum Heresium promptuarium*. The translation of these Books which we now have (as *Grynæus* conceives) is *Ruffine's*; for in his Marginal Notes we sometimes meet with these words, *loquitur Ruffinus*.

Concil. tom. 1.

20. Eight Books against *Celsus* the Philosopher, of the Sect of *Epicurus*, who had most bitterly inveighed against and traduced the Christian Religion. This is the only work of *Origen*, upon which the incomparably judicious *Erasmus* past not his censure, being prevented by death; the want whereof (as also of his *Coronis*) is much to be bewailed, considering that by reason of his singular learning, and long exercise in the study of the Ancients, it cannot but be presumed, he would have gone through and performed it in a most excellent manner. *Origen* undertook this work by the instigation of *Ambrose*, who was much grieved to see that the Christian Religion should be so reproached. *Celsus* filled his Book the word of truth, though little were contained in it, but what was foolish, weak and false, and unworthy of a prudent man; whose objections and slanders, (as also those of all other both Gentiles and Jews) *Origen* in his answer (which *Baronius* calls *celeberrimum commentarium*) most notably wipes off and refuteth. A piece it is of much use, especially unto the History of those times, which by it self is set forth in Greek and Latine by *David Haschelinus*, who gives this

Opus eleganticum & dogmaticum
Hæschel. in Epist. ante libr.
Rhenan. in Epist. ante opera Origen.

Origen: contr. Cels. præm. & sub finem.

Ad an. 243.
§ 3.
Sculter. in Medull. Millæus in Schol. in catalog. Hieronym.

In Epist. de-
dicat. ante e-
dit. Gr. Lat.

this commendation of it, *Celso argumentis & rationibus Origenes ita respondit, ut haud sciam an quicquam in hoc genere solidius atque eruditius exisset.* He set upon this work after that he had arrived unto maturity of age, viz. being then more than sixty years old.

De Script.
Eccles.

Humph. in
præfat. ante
libr.
Rivet. crit.
fac.

21. Of the right faith in one God, or three Dialogues against the Marcionists, which are mentioned by *Bellarmino* as two distinct pieces of *Origen*, though indeed they be but one and the same. For so the learned Doctour *Humphries*, that translated it into Latine out of a Greek Manuscript that he obtained of *Probenius*, and set forth anno 1557. (as *Perionius* had done the year before out of a Greek Copy which he found in the King's Library) entitles it, Of the right Faith in one God, against the three principles of *Megethius* the Marcionite. These two interpreters made use of two very different Copies; but it is evident, that that which Dr. *Humphries* followed was the more distinct and full. It is questionable whether this is *Origen's* or no: 1. Because the Author speaks of Kings and Princes that piously believe: now there were none such in *Origen's* time. 2. No ancient Author of Note hath recorded this disputation, wherein an Ethnick (viz. *Entropius*, a Greek Philosopher) being made the Judge, the Church by *Origen* should get the victory; for the issue was (as is affirmed) the conversion of *Entropius* unto Christianity, together with many others, who in the close of the disputation, celebrated the praise of *Origen* with this acclamation; *David* hath slain the Tyrant *Goliath*, and *Adamantius* hath cut the

In argu-
ment. operis
per Doct.
Humphred.

Coronis ter-
tii dialogi.

the throat of that opinion which fought against God. 3. Besides, it is strange that this should not come to the notice of *Eusebius*, or in case it did, that he should be silent herein, who so diligently sought out whatsoever might make for the commendation of *Origen*. The Dialogues against the Marcionites (saith *Usher*) were collected for the most part out of the writings of *Maximus*, who lived in the time of the Emperours *Constantinus* and *Severus*. Of which *Maximus*, *Jerom* tells us, *Quod famosam questionem in- juri volumine ventilavit, Unde malum, & Quod materia à Deo facta sit.*

*Answer, to the
Jesuits chal.*

In catalogo.

22. The lamentation of *Origen*, which he himself wrote with his own hand in the Greek Tongue, when after his fall and denial of his Maker Christ Jesus, he wandred to and fro with great grief and torment of conscience, the which *Jerom* translated into Latine: these are the words of Doctor *Meredith Hamner*, prefixed to this Lamentation, set down in his English Translation and Edition of *Eusebius*, between the first and second Chapters of the seventh Book; having immediately before given us out of *Snidas* the story of his fall. As touching his fall, viz. that he should chuse rather to offer incense unto Idol, than to have his Body defiled by an Ethiopian: though *Epiphanius* (who was no friend to our Author) and *Snidas* also deliver it for a truth; yet doth *Baronius* upon weighty grounds conceive it to be rather a meer fiction and slander of those that were his enemies, who envying, endeavoured this way to darken the fame of *Origen*: and (saith *Daille*)

*Heret. 66.
Ad. an. 255.
§ 120, &c.*

*Treat of the
Fathers. lib.
2.*

Q

that

that I may not dissemble, I profess my self much enclined to be of the Cardinal's opinion, who thinks this story to be an arrant fable; and that it was foisted into *Epiphanius*, or else (as I rather believe) was taken upon trust by himself; for this Father hath shewed himself in this as in many other things, a little overcredulous. Now the story it self being questionable, and so sandy a foundation, the superstructure must needs be weak; nor, is the censure of *Erasmus* without cause, that these Lamentations were neither written by *Origen*, nor translated by *Jerom*, but the figment of some idle and unlearned brain, who studied by this means to cast a blemish upon this excellent wit. It is therefore by *Gelasius* ranked among the Apocrypha.

Grynæus ante lamentum.

Gratian. distinct. 15. Bellarmin. de Script.

Ibid. In Medull.

23. There is another piece, which, because it is inserted in the catalogue of the works of *Origen*, I thought good not to pass it over altogether unmentioned; it is stiled by the name of *Philocalia*, or (as *Bellarmino* renders it) *De amore honesti*, of the love of that which is good. *Scultetus* calls it *Questiones illustiores*, or famous questions; they were collected out of all the works of *Origen* by those two eminent Fathers *Basil* and *Nazianzen*: so that though *Origen* supplied them with the matter, yet they gave the form to this work, who therefore may as well be entituled to it as he. *Hanc non Origenis magis quam Basilii & Gregorii φιλοκαλωτάτων esse dixerim*, inquit *Tarnius*; by whom in his Edition it is divided into twenty and six Chapters, or so many common places, who gives us this account of it; *Delectum hic liber continet questionum Scripturæ*

In notis in Philocal.

Tarnius ante opus.

de Solutionum, ex variis Origenis commentariis, ab illis Divinarum rerum consultissimis Gregorio & Basilio, quem horum alter, Gregorius Theologus ad Theodorum Tyaneum id Temporis Episcopum, in tabellis misit: In his Letter he thus styles it, Electorum Origenis Libellum.

§ 4. As touching his stile, it was familiar, plain and free from Rhetorical pomp, brief and succinct especially in his Homilies, and Sermons to the people, in whom (saith Merlin) under a choice stream of words flows forth, I know not what secret divinity and breath of life; by which the minds of Men, do easily receive the knowledge of good and evil, his speech being pure and perspicuous; yea and withal very eloquent, which made it so pleasant, delightful, and sweet, that not so much words as honey seemed to drop from his lips: nor was it without a certain kind of Majesty, in which regard *Ruffine* styles him, a magnificent Trumpet: and *Pierius* a Presbyter of *Alexandria* was honoured with the Title of *Origen* Junior, as well for the elegance of his Language, as the multiplicity of his writings. But *Erasmus* hath spoken so fully of this particular, that it would be superfluous to add any thing more, having once given you an account of what he hath said concerning the phrase of *Origen*. He had, saith he, an admirable faculty of speaking *ex tempore*, and even in obscure matters his speech is very perspicuous; nor is brevity wanting as often as the matter requires it: the sentence runs every where certainly, neither doth he hinder himself with words that do burthen wearisome ears: (*Græcis peculiaris est*

Sixt. Senens.
lib. 4.

Merlin. in
Epist. ante
apolog. Ori-
gen.

Vineent. Ly-
rinenf. con-
tra hares.
cap. 23.

In prolog.
ante Roman.

Hieronym.
in catalogo

Erasm. de
phras. Ori-
gen.

Origenis
sermo mirè
perspicuus.
Erasm. in E-
pist. ante Hi-
lat.

Ibid.

De ration.
stud. Theo-
log. lib 4.

inquit Erasmus) *erudita simplicitas, & oratio venusta, dilucidaque magis arridet, quam grandis & operosa:*) he is no where too lofty, which *Jerom* attributes unto *Hilary*: nor doth he with borrowed and far fetch'd Ornaments extend and lengthen out his Books, as sometimes *Jerom* doth: (*Origenes vix unquam assurgit, inquit Hyperius, sed totus est in docendo, nihil attingens affectuum, nisi quos ipsa moveret, quod est Atticorum:*) he studieth not to move laughter in his Auditors with quips and jests, as *Tertullian* ostentimes, and *Jerom* too much imitated him: but with a certain continual hilarity, he suffers not drowsiness to creep upon his Auditors, nor doth affect the flowers of Rhetorick, quaint sentences and *Epiphonemaes*, as *Ambrose* and *Jerom*, nor delight to retard and stop the Reader with unusual words, as *Tertullian*; nor doth he spend away the time in frequent digressions, as is the manner of *Augustin* in his Treatises to the people, nor is he superstitious in the structure of his speech, shutting up each sentence with short pointed members, and periods, which *Gregory* is not altogether free from, here you shall never meet with the like cadencies and endings wherewith *Augustin* was delighted.

§ 5. Of the useful and remarkable passages whereof not a few are to be found in the writings of this eminent Ancient, I shall content my self with the rehearsal of these following.

1. His Symbol or rule of Faith, the particulars whereof (saith he) are delivered manifestly

festly by the preaching of the Apostles, which are these.

lib. 1. cap. 1.
apost. in
proem.

1. *Quod unus Deus est, qui omnia creavit, atque composuit, quique ex nullis fecit esse Universa, Deus a primâ creaturâ & conditione mundi omnium iustorum, Adam, Abel, Seth, Henos, &c. & quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus, sicut per Prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit Dominum Nostrium Jesum Christum primò quidem vocaturum Israel, secundò verò etiam gentes post perfidiam populi Israel. Hic Deus iustus & bonus Pater Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, legem, & Prophetas, & Evangelia ipse dedit, qui & Apostolorum Deus est, & veteris & novi Testamenti.*

2. *Tum Deinde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre est: Qui cum in omnium conditione Patri ministrasset (per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt) novissimis temporibus se ipsam exinaniens homo factus est: incarnatus est, cum Deus esset. Et homo manifestum quod Deus erat. Corpus assumpsit corpori nostro simile, eo solo differens, quod nomen ex Virgine & Spiritu Sancto est. Et quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus & passus est in veritate, & non per imaginem, communem hanc mortem verò mortuus est: verò eundem a morte resurrexisset, & post Resurrectionem conversatus cum Discipulis suis, assumptus est.*

3. *Tum deinde honore ac dignitate Patri ac Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum Sanctum. In hoc non jam manifestò discernitur, utrum natus aut innatus. Sed inquirenda jam ista pro viribus sunt de sacrâ Scriptura, & sagaci perquisitione inuestiganda. Sanè quod iste Spiritus Sanctus unumquemque Sanctorum vel Prophetarum*

rum, vel Apostolorum inspiravit; & non alius Spiritus in veteribus, alius verò in his qui in adventu Christi inspirati sunt, manifestissime in Ecclesiis predicatur.

4. Post hæc jam, quòd anima substantiam vitamque habens propriam, cum ex hoc mundo discesserit, & pro suis meritis dispensabit, sive vite æternæ, ac beatitudinis hereditate potitura, si hoc ei sua gesta præstiterint; sive igne æterni ac suppliciiis mancipanda, si in hoc eam scelèrum culpa detorserit. Sed & quia erit tempus Resurrectionis mortuorum, cum corpus hoc quod in corruptione seminatur surget in incorruptione & quod seminatur in ignominia, surget in gloria.

Tract. in
Math. 23. 17.

2. Of the authority of the Scriptures: we ought, (saith he) for the testimony or proof of all the words which we utter in Doctrine or Teaching, to bring forth or alledge the sense of Scripture, as confirming the sense or meaning which we expound or give: For as all that Gold which was without the Temple was not sanctified; so every sense (or interpretation) which is without the divine Scripture, though to some it may seem admirable, is not Holy, because it is not contained in the sense of Scripture.

cap. 4. cap. 1.

3. Of the Divinity of the Scriptures, and how they may be known of God: thus, If any one with all diligence, and with that reverence which is meet, do consider the sayings of the Prophets, even then when he reads and carefully looks into them, it is certain that having his mind and sense stricken or moved by some more Divine inspiration, he shall know and acknowledge, that those words, which he reads, are of God, and

not uttered by Man, and of himself he shall perceive that those Books were written not by humane Art, nor mortal eloquence, but in a divine and lofty stile.

Divino Co-
thurno.

4. Of the fulness of the Scriptures, thus: It becomes us to believe the sacred Scriptures not to have one *Apex* or Tittle void of the Wisdom of God. The Prophets receiving of his fulness sung or spake those things which they took of his fulness. Therefore the sacred Scriptures do breath the fulness of the Spirit: and there is nothing either in the Prophecy, or the Law, or Gospel, or in the Apostle, which descendeth not from the fulness of the Divine Majesty.

Homil. 2. in
Jerem.

5. Of the great efficacy and utility of the Scriptures, thus: Because all Scripture is given by Divine Inspiration and is profitable: (*in Scripturis sanctis est vis quedam, quæ legenti etiam sine explanatione sufficit.*) we ought to believe it to be so, though we feel not the benefit thereof: As Physicians are wont sometimes to give some meat or drink for the clearing of the sight, yet in taking of it we perceive not any benefit, but afterwards when its vertue reacheth it, it by little and little purgeth the sight; after this manner we ought to believe the holy Scriptures to be profitable unto the Soul; although for the present, our sense or reason reach nor, nor attain unto the understanding of it.

Homil. 2. in
Joshuah.

6. That Children ought to be baptized, thus: the Church hath received from the Apostles this tradition to give or administer Baptism even unto Infants, for they to whom the secrets of divine Mysteries were committed, knew that there is in all the inbred filth of sin, that ought to be washed away by Water and the Spirit.

In Epist. ad
Roman. c. 6.
ver. 6. item,
in Levit. cap.
12. ver. 13.
Homil. 8.
item. in Luc.
cap 7. Ho-
mil. 14.

In lib. Numeror. cap. 28.

7. Of the Sabbath; thus: Let us see how a Christian ought to observe and keep the Sabbath: Upon the Sabbath, none of the busineses of the World ought to be done; if therefore thou cease from all worldly labours, and do no such work, but attend spiritual employments, come to the Assemblies, apply thine ear unto the holy Scriptures read, and Sermons; think of heavenly things, be solicitous about the future hope, have before thine eyes the judgement to come, look not unto things visible, and that are present, but unto invisible and that shall be: This is the observation of a Christian Sabbath.

In Josuah. cap. 7.

Matth. 5. 20.

8. Concerning excommunication, and that it ought to be performed by the Church; thus: If any one having been admonished and rebuked for a fault, once, again, and the third time, shall shew no amendment; there remains no remedy but cutting off: For so saith the Lord, *If thy right offend thee, cut it off*, i. e. If I that seem to thee to be a right hand, and am call'd a Presbyter, and seem to preach the Word of God, if I shall do any contrary unto Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the Rule of the Gospel so that I give a scandal or offence unto the Church; let the whole Church conspiring with one consent, cut me off, their right hand.

In Josuah. cap. 15.

Contr. Cel. fun. lib. 4.

Again, those whose sins are manifest, we ought to cast off; but where the sin is not evident, we ought not to eject.

9. Out of those Prophecies or Books of the Scripture, which contains Histories, we may receive benefit not only, or so much from the narration of the things, as from what

what is figuratively signified by them; seeing that with greatest Wisdom, they are so written and dispensed, that they do agree or suit with either the simple and vulgar among Believers, or with the excellent that are willing and able to search them more thoroughly.

10. He reciteth the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, as they are now reckoned, viz. twenty and two in number, after the number of the Hebrew Letters; And besides these, saith he, there are Books of the *Machabees*. Of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, he thus speaks; The character of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (saith he) setteth not forth the stile of *Paul*, who confesseth himself to be rude in speech; for the phrase of that Epistle favoureth very much of the Greek Tongue; whosoever he be that hath any judgement or discerning of phrases, will confess the same. I truly for mine own part, that I may speak as I think, do say, that the Doctrine of this Epistle is the Apostles for undoubted; but the phrase and order another mans, who noted the sayings of the Apostle, and contrived such things as he had heard of his Master, into short and compendious notes.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 24.

Ibid.

2 Cor. 10.
10.

11. That Christ cometh and goeth, and is not always enjoyed, nor alike present with his people; thus: God is my witness, that I have often times beheld the Bride-groom coming unto me, and to be very much with me; who suddenly withdrawing, I could not find what I sought for. I therefore again desire his coming, and sometimes he cometh again; and when he appeareth, and was held in

In Cant.
Homil. 1.

in my hands, he again slips away: and being gone, he is again sought for by me: and this he doth often, till I truly hold him fast.

In Job lib. 3.
item in
Matth. cap.
24.

12. Against the Observations of ones Birth-day, as an annual Festival; thus: It is no where recorded in the Scripture that any of the Saints did keep a Festival, or hold a great Feast upon the day of his Birth; only sinners rejoyce for such a Nativity; as did *Pharaoh* and *Herod*.

Hieronym.
ep. ad Pam-
mach.

Merlin. in
Apolog.
Origen.

§ 6. But as his worth was great, (being great from his infancy) and his excellencies many; (his deeds even from the Cradle deserving, in the judgement of *Ensebius*, to be recorded and transmitted unto Posterity) so were they equalled by his defects and blemishes; and as for the one he was justly had in high esteem; so did the other no less detract from his reputation; which occasioned that speech so commonly made use of concerning him; that, where he did well, no man did better; and where he did ill, no man did worse. *Cui (inquit Cassiodorus) & illud convenienter aptari potest, quod Virgilius, dum Ennium legeret, à quodam, quid faceret inquisitus, respondit, Aurum ex stercore quero.* Hence it came to pass that divers of the Ancients were so divided in their judgements, and had such hot contests about him: Some vilifying and opposing him, as did *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Salamis*, a City of *Cyprus*; who speaking of the multitude of Books, which he wrote, cries out: *O inanis operarie; O empty scribles!*

Vid. Baron.
ad an. 256.
§ 46.

Hazef. 64.

H:

He was also perswaded by Letters, which he received from the said *Theophilus* (*qui scripsit adversum Originem unum & grande volumen, in quo omnia penè ejus dicta, & ipsum pariter damnat, &c.*) to summon a Council at *Cyprus*, wherein by the Bishops of the Island assembled, it was decreed that none should read the works of *Origen*: The like was also done shortly after, in a Synod convened by *Theophilus* himself in his own Province: Upon which divers of *Origens* followers fled from thence unto *Constantinople*, imploring the aid of *Chrysostom*; who admitted them to communicate with him: and this was it that occasioned the great contention between *Chrysostom* and *Epiphanius* upon his coming thither; so that they parted in great heat. He was also anathematized, together with those that adhered unto him, and held his errors, by the fifth general Council; which was held at *Constantinople* under *Justinian* the Emperour, wherein they stile him the abomination of desolation, *Malè sanum, impium Deoq; repugnantem*; and his opinions, *deliramenta & insanis*; exclaiming thus against them; *O dementiam & inscientiam hominis insani & Paganorum discipline explicatoris; mente cecutientis, studentisq; Christianorum fidei miscere fabulas, &c.* *Epiphanius* calls him *Dei & Ecclesie hostem*; as also, the Father of *Arius* and root of other Heresies. He utters many things (saith *Photius*) blasphemously, and other very absurd, and full of impiety. *Jerom* also is very sharp against him; (though one that admired his wit and parts) *in plerisq; inquit, hæreticum non nego*: and tells us, that

Gennad. de Script.

Socrates, lib. 6. cap. 9.

Binnius. Concil. tom. 4.

ibid.

In Epist. ad Johan. Hierosolymitan. in Biblioth. Numb. 8.

Advers. Vigilant. ep. 75.

with

Advers.
Ruffin. lib. 2.
Epist. 65.
Pammach.

with a sacrilegious Tongue, he blasphemeth ; that his Opinions were venomous , dissonant from the holy Scriptures , and offer violence unto them : professing that he was always an adversary to his Doctrines. Yet withal he thus adds ; I am not wont, saith he, to insult over the errors of those whose wit I admire, and if any one shall object or oppose to us his errors ; let him hear this freely : that sometime even great *Homer* himself may nod or slumber ; let us not imitate his Vices, whose Vertues we cannot follow. *Cæsarius* the brother of *Nazianzen*, styles him that impious *Origen* ; and his Doctrines pestiferous ; yea *nuge*, trifles and toys. And among the later Writers, *Beza* saith of him, that he was a select instrument of Sathan, and styles him, *Impurissimus ille Scriptor, quem exoptem velle lectorum manibus excuti, aut summo cum judicio à studiosis tractari.*

Cæsarii.
Dialog 3.
inter opera
Nazianzen.

In Rom. 8.
3.

On the other side, some did no less magnifie and admire him ; pleading and apologizing in his behalf, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Nazianzen* and *Jerom* did most highly esteem the Doctrine , Allegories and Tropologies of *Origen*, extolling him unto heaven with their praises ; those that did apologize for him were among other, *Pamphilus* the Martyr, and *Eusebius* commonly surnamed *Pamphili* ; for the singular friendship that was between them : by whom were written six Books in defence of *Origen* (which *Jerom* calls *latissimum & elaboratum opus*) five whereof were the joynt labour of them both, and the sixth of *Eusebius* alone after the death of *Pamphilus* : as appears from the word of *Eusebius* himself,

Grynus. in
apolog. in
Genes.

In Apolog.
7. advers.
Ruffin.

lib.

lib.6. cap.20. *Quæ (inquit) de ejus gestis sunt ad cognoscendum necessaria ea ex Apologia quæ à nobis Pamphili sancti nostri temporis martyris operâ adjutis elucubrata est (illam enim ego & Pamphilus, quo ora malevolorum obtreçiatorum, fama Origenis detrahentium obturaremus, mutui in vigiliis accuratè eleboravimus) licet faciliè colligere.* Photius gives us this account here of, Ἀπολογία Πάμφιλου τῆς μετέστροφος, &c. i. e. Letti sunt Pamphili martyris & Eusebii pro Origene libri sex, quorum quinque sunt a Pamphilo in carcere, presente etiam Eusebio, elaborati: Sextus verò, postquam jam Martyr ferro privatus vitâ, ad unicè desideratum Deum migrarat, ab Eusebio est absolutus. These were seconded by Ruffine who undertook the same task; setting forth an Apology for Origen; or rather, the Apology of Eusebius (for so its commonly called) by him translated into Latin; unto which he added a Volume of his own, bearing this title; of the adulteration of the Books of Origen; These were followed by some learned men of the latter times, viz. Johannes Picus, the noble Earl of Mirandula, and Phanix of his time; Vir ingenii penè prodigiosi, & in omni artium, scientiarum & linguarum varietate usq; ad miraculum exculti. Also; Gilbert Genebrard, a Parisian Divine, and Professor there of the Hebrew Tongue; And Jacobus Merlinus, Viçurniensis Sacre Theologiæ Professor, who endeavours to vindicate both the holiness of his life, and the soundness of his Doctrine. Moreover, such an equipoise was there in him of good and evil, that with Sampson, Solomon, and Trajan (though I conceive the med-

ley

Baron. ad an. 256. 649. Ipse quidem (Pamphilus) proprii operis nihil omnino scripsit (inquit Ruffinus invitâ Pamphili) exceptis Epistolis. Hieronym. Apolog. i. advers. Ruffin.

Biblioth. num. 113.

Bellarmin. de script. horum tu primum librum vertis sub nomine Martyris, inquit, Hieronym. Apolog. i. advers. Ruffin. Possesvin. apparat.

Sixt. Senens. lib. i.

Merlin. Apolog. ante opera Origen.

Fascicul.
temp.

Biblioth.
Patr. tom. 7.
cap. 36. Pra-
ti spiritual.
Possevin.
apparat. &
Aloys. Li-
poman. in
Epist. ad
lect. ante
libr.

In Apalog.
pro Origen.

Possevin. ap-
parat. in So-
phronio.

Contra So-
crates hist.
lib. 4. cap.
21.

Epist. 61.
inter Hie-
ronym. E-
pist.

Advers. Pe-
lagium ad
Ctesiphon-
tem.

ley is as Monkish as the scruple) he is put into the number of those concerning whom 'tis equally difficult to determine whether they were saved or not. But surely that bold Shaveling went too far beyond his bounds, who in his Book intituled *Pratum Spirituale* (which is supposed to be written by Abbot *John Moschus*) reports that a certain brother (doubting whether *Nestorius* were in an error or no) was, by one appearing unto him for his satisfaction, conducted to Hell; where among other Hereticks he saw *Origen* tormented in those flames: (the Earl of *Mirandula* is of a contrary judgement.) But the Jesuit *Possevine* plainly tells us, that who-soever was the Author, many of the relations in that Book deserve but small credit; being indeed little better than down-right lyes; among which he gives an instance in this (not unlike that of *Origen*) that in a Vision *Chrysostom* should be seen placed in heaven above all the Doctors and Martyrs: But enough of such stuff. However, evident it is, that he was very erroneous, yea, scarce any one of the Ancients, more; whether we respect the multiplicity, or quality of his errors: So that, as the Orthodox that came after him, were much beholding unto him, as of great advantage to them in the interpretation of the Scriptures: So did the Hereticks take from him the hints of many of their foulest Heresies: for which cause as *Epiphanius* calls him the fountain and Father of *Arians*, so did the Errour of *Pelagius* (saith *Jerom*) spring from him; *Doctrinae tuae Origenis ramusculus est*: Yea, there is scarce any

any sect that had not its rise and beginning from him. The grounds whereof (as *Vincentius Lyrinensis* conceives) were such as these; His abusing the grace of God too insolently his overmuch indulging his own wit, and trusting to himself; his undervaluing the simplicity of the Christian Religion, his presuming himself wiser than others, and his interpreting some Scriptures after a new manner; contemning Ecclesiastical traditions, and the Authority of the Ancients: *Epiphanius* imputes it unto this, because he would suffer no part of the holy Scriptures to pass, without his interpretation; therefore he fell into error.

Yet do his Apologisers labor to free him; laying the fault of the errors fathered upon him unto the charge of others; *Ruffine* pleads in his behalf, that he was abused by Hereticks, who adulterated his writings, as they dealt with divers others; that so they might gain credit to their errors, by the names of those famous men, as if they were of the same mind with them; he adds withal, that the Epistle of *Origen* unto certain friends of his in *Alexandria* intimates so much wherein he complains of wrong done unto him in this kind, while he was yet alive. *Merlin* mentions two ways more beside this, by which *Origen* might be made to speak that which he never thought; First, by the unskilfulness of the Scribes, who might easily omit or alter what he uttered and dictated. 2. Through the envy of those, who might think their own lustre Eclipsed by the glory and fame of *Origen*. *Ego sanè, inquit Haymo, de eo dix-
rim,*

Zonaras.
Tom. 2.
Libr. advers.
Hæres. c. 23.

Hæres. 64.

De adulter.
lib. Orig.

Sext. Senes.
lib. 4.
Dicit ali-
quis corru-
ptos esse O-
rigenis li-
bros: nō re-
sisto; quin
potius & ma-
lo. Vincent.
contra hære.
c. 23.

In Apolog.

Hist. Eccles.
lib. 6. c. 3.

Mirandul.
in apolog.
pro Orig.

Lib. *ad*
ap. xlv.

Hieronym.
epist. 65.
Pammach. &
Ocean.

Supple.
Bergomens.

rim, vel quod hæc omnino non scripserit, sed ab hereticis ob prædaram nomen ejus obfuscan- dum malignè consilia sint, & conscripta, & mi- mine suo prætitulata; vel si scripsit, non stavit ex sententiâ, sed differuit ex opinione; & for- tasse, cum in aliquibus locis scribendo attingit hæreticorum errores, calumniatus est, hoc à se- metipso dixisse. Much to the same purpose speaks the Noble Italian, in his excellent and sinewy Apology in his behalf; wherein he proves that *Origen* in his younger years delivered many things, as one that rather in- quired after, than positively asserted them; as is apparent from divers expressions of his own; e.g. These things, saith he, speaking of the reparation of the Divels, are said by us with great fear and caution, rather discus- sing and handling, than for certain and definitively determining them. These and divers o- ther ways do they endeavor to excuse him: wherein yet they do but wash a blackmore: for notwithstanding all that hath been said for him; many foul spots and blemishes do and will stick fast unto him: for we have himself (in a Letter unto *Fabian* Bishop of Rome) confessing and repenting that he wrote such things; imputing it to the unad- visedness of *Ambrose*, who made that pub- lick, which he delivered privately: *secretè edita & minimè correctâ (inquit supplementum Bergomense) in publicum protulit. Hoc mihi, inquit, præstiterunt amici mei: si tacuero, reus censear; & si respondero, inimicus judicabor. Dura utraq, conditio; sed à duobus eligan quod melius est.* *Severus Sulpitius* reports that in his time it was decreed by a Synod held

held at *Alexandria*, that *Origen* was by wise men cautiously to be read for the good that was in him; but, by those, who were less capable, to be rejected, because of the evil that was in him: his words are, *respiciendam esse penitus lectionem, quæ plus esset nocitura insipientibus, quam profutura sapientibus*: After which it follows; I do wonder, saith he, that one and the same man could so much differ from himself; *ut in eâ parte quâ probatur, neminem post Apostolos habeat equalem; in eâ verò quâ jure reprehenditur, nemo deformius doceatur errasse*. I shall content my self with the brief mention of some of the most notorious errours that have been observed in him, as I find them set down by *Osiander* in his *Epitome of the Centuries*: and they are these following.

Gennad. de script.

In vita Martini. l. 2.

Ibid.

Cent. 3. lib. 1. cap. 6.

1. *Quod Filius Dei Patrem non videat: quod sit creatura; factus, non natus. Quod Pater sit perfectè bonus, filius verò non absolute bonus, sed tantum cum additamento, ut, Pater bonus. Filium non esse adorandum, neque cum Filio Patrem. Omnia, quæ à Salvatore gesta juxta historiam referuntur, putativè tantum & per allegoriam, accipienda esse. Christum pro Diabolorum salute etiam in aere & supernis locis passurum.*

2. *Spiritum Sanctum dixit, inferiorem esse filio: majorem enim esse fortitudinem filii; quam Spiritus Sancti. Of whom he spake so meanly, that saith Jerome, his opinions of the Son were bad, but those of the holy Ghost, were worse.*

Epist. 67. Pamphilo

3. *Mundos esse innumerabiles, non quidem simul;*

R

simul, sed ita, ut semper mundi unius finis sit initium alterius mundi.

4. *Mundum per angelos ita gubernare, ut alii promptè, alii invita mundum regant; & propter Angelorum negligentiam & peccata (quod res terrenas non rectè administrant) sterilitates incidere.*

Cent. 3. l. 10

5. *Diabolos, sicut & impios, adhuc salvandos; & post longa supplicia, angelis bonis denuò associandos esse.*

6. *Animas hominum fuisse ante corpora, & egisse aliquid; ideoq; crassis corporibus alligatas; & animas postquam salutem consecutæ fuerint, non ampliùs futuras animas.* Most of these, Jerom mentions together thus. *Origenem, inquit, in plerisq; hæreticum non negi: Erravit de resurrectione corporis, erravit de animarum statu, de diaboli penitentiâ, & quod his majus est, Filium Dei & Spiritum Sanctum, in commentariis Esaiæ, Seraphim esse constitutus est.*

Epist. ad ver.
Vigilant.
num. 75.

7. *Providentiam Dei non demittere se ad omnes creaturas, & inferiora mundi: sed tantum in cælorum regionibus commorari.*

8. *Homini, etiam post lapsum talem perfectionem concedit, qualem Adam habuit ante lapsum. Liberum itaq; arbitrium, etiam in spiritualibus, homini tribuit.*

9. *Hominem operibus justificari credidit.*

10. *Purgatorium post hanc vitam esse opinatus est. Graviora delicta semel tantum per penitentiam condonari putavit.*

11. *Baptismum post resurrectionem necessarium futurum.*

12. *Nuptiis secundis paràm æquus fuit.*

13. *Sensit*

13. Sensit etiam, animas post mortem in celum ascendere: & nunc proficere, nunc ad inferiora delabi: ita ut per innumerabiles ruinas anima sæpe moriatur.

14. Resurrectionem corporum nostrorum sic futuram, ut eadem membra non habeant: imò in alterâ vitâ fore nos sine corporibus; aut ceriè corpora nostra id futurum, quod nunc est æther, aut cælum, aut si quod est aliud & syncerius corpus.

15. Post resurrectionem Angelos, diabolos & animas omnium hominum, etiam gentilium, fore unius conditionis: deinde alium subsequutum mundum, in quo animæ de cælo delabentes aliis corporibus vestiantur.

16. Deniq; sacras literas intempestivis & immodicis allegoriis multò magis obscuravit, quàm explicuit; & aliis scriptoribus ecclesiasticis occasionem dedit, ut & ipsi sacram Scripturam per ineptas allegorias depravarent. Origenis audacia (inquit Chamierus) in affectandis allegoriis semper fuit suspecta, nec longè distans à temeritate.

Torn. 3.
l. 24. c. 10.

To these many more might be added, which if the Reader desire to acquaint himself withal; let him peruse the Epistles of Jerom ad Avitum, ad Pammachium & Occanum, together with his Apologies against Rufine: Epiphanius his Panarium. Hæres. 64. and in his Epistle ad Johannem Hierosolymitanum; the Centurists in Cent. 3. cap. 10. Dancus in his Commentary upon the 43. Chapter of Augustin de hæresibus; and Nicetas Choniates in his treasury of the Orthodox faith. Lib. 4. Hæres. 31. who there thus speaks of him; that for natural and moral

philosophy he was a Doctor acceptable unto all; but for matters Dogmatical or of Faith, & of Theological speculation, he shewed himself the most absurd of all that went before or followed after him. Which also those frequent passages of *Jerom*, do shew; where he saith; I commended him as an interpretor, but not as a Dogmatist: Again; I call *Origen* ours for his learning and wit, not for the truth of his opinions and Doctrine. Lastly, as I ever attributed unto *Origen* the Interpretation and *idioms* or proprieties of Scripture; So I most constantly took from him truth in his opinions. For this cause also having at his request sent unto *Avitus*, his Translation of *Origen's* books *Ὁὐὲ ἀρχαῖν*: in the close of his Epistle he prescribes this as an antidote against the errors therein contained: Whosoever, saith he, will read these books, and go toward the land of promise with his feet shod, lest he be bitten of Serpents, and smitten with the forked wound of the Scorpion; let him read this book or Epistle wherein are declared the dangerous passages contained in those books, that so he may know before he begin his journey, what things he must shun & avoid. Hence *Beza* gives this censure of him; certainly, saith he, this writer is every way so impure whether he wrote so himself, or whether his writings were afterward *depraved*, that in matters controversial, he deserves no authority in the Church. Yet notwithstanding in the judgment of some, the good that was in him, exceeded the evil; so that although he were guilty of the errors imputed unto him, yet being a man of so much learn-

Epist. Pam.
smach. n. 65.

Apolog. adv.
Ruffin. l. 2.
Epist. ad
Theop. n. 62.

Ep. ad Avita.
num. 59.

Epist. 28.

learning, he deserves to be pittied; whose faults, saith *Haymo*, if there be any in his books, may be overcome by the Celestial splendor of those things, which are faithfully written by him: And, saith *Scultetus*, this age might well bear the precipitate publication of his works by *Ambrose*, or the malevolent depravation of them, if withal, they had all come to our hands.

Hist. Eccles.
lib. 6. c. 3.

In Medull.

Epiphan.
heres. 64.
Dan. us. in
Aug. de
heres. c. 43.

Many of his errors began first to be entertained by the Monks and Disciplinarians in *Egypt*, from whose Cells being vented they spread abroad, and were embraced and maintained by very many: unto whom (as a Sect or swarm of Hereticks, deriving their errors from *Origen*) was given the name of *Origenists* or *Adamantians*; who continued long, even unto the time of *Gregory* the great; for he testifieth that some of them were remaining in his days. *Adversus Origenistas* (inquit *Baronius*) *longa admodum & periculosa fuit Ecclesie concertatio.*

Ad an. 356;
§ 47.

§ 7. Now as touching the last scene of his life, his going off the Theatre of this world; I find no large mention made of it. That his sufferings for Christ were neither few nor small, (though he suffered not martyrdom) is abundantly testified; So that in the judgment of *Merline*, as also of *Mirandula*, he came but little short of it, and deserves the palm: *semper Deo* (inquit *Pontius Diaconus*) *mancipata devotio, dicatis hominibus pro martyrio deputatur.* And, saith *Haymo*, *voluntate Martyr fuit*: though he laid not down his life, yet he lost not the Honor of Martyrdom: For they were many and sore things

In Apolog.
In Apolog.
In vita Cypriani.

Hist. Eccles.
l. 6. c. 13.

Lib. 6. c. 38.

Euseb. hist.
 l. 7. c. 1.
 Hieronym.
 in Catalog.
 Cant. 3 c. 10.
 C

which he did undergo, even in his old age, (besides what in former time had betided him) at what time the persecution against the Church raged under the Emperor *Decius*: whereof *Eusebius* makes report in these words: (drawing toward the close of *Origen*, about which the most part of the sixth book is spent) what things they were, saith he, and how great, which hapned to *Origen* in that persecution, and how he died; the spiteful Devil pursuing him with his whole troop; striving against him with all might and every kind of sleight that possibly could be invented; and especially against him above all the rest which then were persecuted to death; and what and how great things he sustained for the Doctrine of Christ; imprisonments and torments of body; scourging at Iron stakes, stench of close prison; and how for the space of many days, his feet lay stretched four paces asunder in the stocks; and how that constantly he endured the threats of fire and all that the enemy could terrifie him with; and what end he made after the judge had wrought by all means possible to save his life; and what speeches he uttered very profitable for such as need consolation; sundry of his Epistles truly; faithfully and curiously penn'd, do declare. He lived the space of sixty nine years: of which (reckoning from the time that he was by *Demetrius* made Catechist in the School of *Alexandria*) he spent above fifty most laboriously, in teaching and writing; in the affairs and care of the Church, in refuting Heresies, and in the exercise

exercise of Piety, and many notable virtues. But notwithstanding all his labours and worth, his age and end (as well as the former part of his life) were accompanied with poverty; so small recompence and reward had he from men, who haply could be well contented freely to afford him their praises, but kept fast their purses; *sic, virtus landatur & alget*. And for this, rich *Ambrose* above all other deserves most blame, that at his death was not more mindful of his old and indigent friend *Origen*. Hence it came to pass, that he ended his days in a mean and miserable condition (*miserabiliter, inquit Nicephorus, infelix obiit*) dying in the famous City of *Tyre*, where also he was buried in the reign of the Emperors *Galus* and *Volusian*, and in the year of Christ. 256.

Horace.

Erast. in vita
Origen.

Hist. l. 5 c. 33
Euseb. l. 7.
cap. 1.
Baron. ad
an. 256.

Cyprianus.

Epist. 69.
Pamel. in vi-
ti.

Nazianz. o-
rat. 29.

Pontius in
viti.

Lactant. de
Institut. lib.
3. cap. 1.

Nazianz. i.
bid.
Epist. 1. § 1.
édit. Gou-
lard.

§ 1. **C**yprianus, called also *Thascius*, was born at *Carthage*, one of the chief Cities of *Africa*, he was very rich, and of great note and power there, being one of the Senatorian Order, and among them held the first or chief place; his breeding was liberal and ingenuous from his tender years, being trained up in, and seasoned with the knowledge of the Arts wherein his proficiency was such, that (among the rest) he became an excellent Rhetorician, and publickly professed and taught that art at *Carthage*, being had in very great esteem among them; but all this while an Ethnick, without the knowledge of Christ, yea, a most bitter persecutor of the Christians, withal a Magician, and skilled in those curious arts, though this last be very improbable in the judgment both of *Baronius* and *Pamelius*.

How long he continued in this condition is uncertain, yet that he was well stricken in years before converted unto Christianity, may be conjectured, 1. Partly from his own words: for (while being a Gentile, he thought of receiving the Christian Faith) he conflicted with such reasonings as these; he conceived it a hard and difficult thing (as some-

sometime did *Nicodemus* for a man to be born again, that he should by the washing of water put off what he was before, and have his mind changed: How (saith he) can such a conversion be possible, that so suddenly that should be put off which was genuine and natural, and through length of time and old age had taken such deep rooting? Hence it

Ad an. 250.
§ 7.

appears (saith *Baronius*) that he was *senescens*, near unto and upon the verge of old age when he was about to give up his name to Christ. 2. Partly also from the time that he sate Bishop of *Carthage*, which is generally conceived to be about the space of ten years, and not above; for he was chosen unto the office about the year 249, and suffered

Pamel. in vlt. ta.

martyrdom, an. 259. Now both *Baronius* and *Pamelius*, as also before them, *Pontius* his Deacon and companion in his exile, who wrote the story of his life, do all affirm, that he was made Bishop shortly after his conversion, and while but *Neophytus* & *Novellus*, a Novice in Christianity, and newly come to the Faith.

The instrumens by whom he was converted, was one *Cacilius* a Presbyter, who partly by his pious conversation (which was very exemplary, he being a just man, and in honour, as well as age, a true Presbyter) and partly by his perswasions (upon which his eloquence did set such an edge, that they were of great force and pierced deeply) prevailed with him, and brought him unto the knowledge and profession of Christianity. It seems the special portion of Scripture that wrought upon him, was the prophecy of

Pontius in vita Cypr.

Cent. 3. capi
10.
Baron. ad
an. 250. § 6.

Jonah,

In *Jonah*
cap. 3.

Jonah, which haply *Cecilius* was unfolding and preaching upon at that time; for so much *Jerom* intimates, where he saith, Blessed *Cyprian* having been before an assertour of Idolatry, at length hearing the Sermon of *Jonah*, was converted and brought unto repentance. It is not unlikely that he had been before prepared and somewhat inclined unto the Christian Religion, by reading the Books of Christians, and particularly of *Tertullian* his Country-man, unto whom he was much addicted, and greatly admired him; for had it not been so, *Baronius* seeth not how (unless you will ascribe it to a miracle) he could in so short a time attain unto such a height of knowledge both in Doctrine and Discipline, as should furnish him for so high a function in the Church.

Ad an. 250.
§. 11.

Pontius in
vitâ.

His love and affection unto his *Cecilius* ever after was so great, that he respected and and revered him not as a friend and equal only, but as a spiritual Father, and one by whom he had received a new life, which he gave clear testimony of unto the world, by prefixing his name unto his own: so that unto this day he is called and commonly known by the name of *Cecilius Cyprianus*, as did *Eusebius* in after times annex the name of *Pamphylus* unto his own, for the love that he bare unto that Martyr.

Post non
multum
temporis e-
lectus in
Presbyte-
rum etiam
Episcopus
Carthagini-
ensis consti-
tutus est. Hi-
eronym. in
catalog.
Pontius in
vitâ.

But a very little time did intervene between his conversion and advancement unto the chief Dignity in the Church; so great was his growth in the faith, that in a short space he attained unto such maturity as few perhaps do arrive at. Herein he was singular, there having

having been scarce the like example before, which Pontius speaks of as a thing almost incredible: *Nemo (inquit) metit, statim ut sevit: Nemo vindemiam de novellis scrobibus expressit: Nemo adhuc unquam de noviter plantatis arbusculis matura poma quæsit: In illo omnia incredibilia occurrerunt. Prævenit, si potest dici, (res enim fidem non capit) prævenit, inquam, tritura sementem, vindemia palmitem, poma radicem.* Baronius sets down the story of his adding unto the Church, and ascending unto the Episcopal Chair, as the occurrents of the same year.

Adan. 250

Unto this Dignity of sitting at the Helm, in the first and principal of the African Churches was he elected by the unanimous consent of the whole Clergy and people, none contradicting, but the unhappy Presbyter *Felicissimus*, with a few of his Associates, the seat being vacant by the decease of *Donatus, Agrippinus* or some other; for 'tis uncertain who was his immediate predecessour.

Baron. ad an. 250. § 1.

Cent 3. cap. 10.

Being called unto, and having undertaken so weighty a charge, as a careful Pastour he bestirs himself accordingly: and in the first place, and while as yet the peace of the Church lasted, he applyed himself with all his might to restore the Discipline delivered by the Lord (whereof he was a great lover and advancer, and which long tranquillity had corrupted) unto its ancient purity.

Pamel. in vita.

But this continued not long; for a very sore persecution ensued very shortly after under the Emperour *Decius*, which mightily wasted the Church of Christ: the violence whereof reaching as far as *Carthage*, *Cyprian* felt

Baron. ad an. 251. § 30.

In vitā Cypr. felt amongst the rest, attaining not long after he was made Bishop (as *Pamelius* gathers from the words of *Pontius*, who saith it fell out, *statim, estsoon after*) the Glory of Proscription, unto which was added (that not satisfying the people) their violent clamour often repeated in the Theatre, requiring him to be cast unto the Lions.

Pontius in
vitā.
Baron. ad
an. 253. § 30.
Pamel. in vi-
tā.
Epist. 10. §
4.

To avoid the violence of this storm, he withdrew not so much out of fear, as for divers other weighty reasons : as

1. In obedience to God, whose providences spake out no less than his command what he should do, as he himself speaks : You shall (saith he in an Epistle to the Clergy) hear all things, when the Lord shall bring me back again unto you, who commanded me to withdraw. Of which *Pontius* gives us a larger account : 'Twas fear indeed (saith he) moved him so to do, but it was that just fear lest he should offend God, that fear which would rather obey God than be so crowned ; for his heart being in all things devoted unto God, and his faith subject unto divine admonitions, he believes that if he had not obeyed the Lord, requiring him then to hide, he should have sinned in his very suffering.

Pamel. in vi-
tā.
Cypr. Epist.
15. § 1. & E-
pist. 6. § 1. &
Epist. 36.

Pontius in
vitā.

2. Lest by his presence he should stir up envy of the people, who could less away with him than any other of the Presbyters ; and so the sedition already begun among them, should grow unto a greater height.

3. The Church could not have been deprived of him but to her exceeding great detriment, especially at that time, there being

none so able to afford that comfort, encouragement, direction, correction and restoring, which multitudes in the Church did then stand in need of: Well, well, therefore, (saith *Pontius*) and truly by divine providence, it came to pass that a man so necessary in many regards, should be delayed the consummation of Martyrdom. Yet it seems that some were unsatisfied with, and calumniated this his action, which he therefore took occasion to clear and vindicate in divers of his Epistles; whereby he gave satisfaction unto the Clergy of *Rome*, who took it well, and judged what he did to be warrantable.

Pamel. in vi-
ta.

Baron. ad
an. 253. § 32.

During the time of this his secession (which was about the space of two years) he was not wanting (though absent in body, yet very vigilant as present in spirit) by his admonitions, and otherwise to provide for and promote the welfare of the Brethren as much as he could, constituting divers Presbyters to execute his office in his room. But that which did occasion no small grief unto him, was the schism and disorders that happened in the Church, whereof his former adversary *Felicissimus* was the principal author, with whom joyned five other Presbyters, who granted rashly and promiscuously peace and communion to the *Lapsi*, or such as through fear had fallen in that time of persecution. These were set on and abetted by *Novatus* a Presbyter of *Carthage* (from whom afterward sprung *Donatus* and his Sect) with whom sided *Fortunatus*, set up by his party as a Mock-Bishop in opposition unto *Cyprian*, who yet were

Pamel. in vi-
ta.

Baron. ad
an. 254. § 39.
Pamel. in vi-
ta.

Euseb. lib. 6.
c. 42.

Baron. ad
an. 255. §
10, 11.

Hence Cyprian calls Novatus interfectior poenitentiz.

were of a contrary opinion to the former; denying all hope of peace to the *Lapfi*: but though they were opposit in judgement unto each other, yet did they all at length conspire together, and made up one faction against *Cyprian*; who had given order, that as the *Lapfi* should not be altogether excluded; so neither should they be admitted unto communion, but upon their repentance and satisfaction given unto the Church.

Baron. ad an. 254. § 35.

This *Felicissimus* with his complices proceeded so far, as that of those who adhered unto him (who in number increased daily) he constituted a Church of his own, which he congregated in a certain Mountain; from whence the name of the *Montenses* took its Original, given afterward unto the party of the *Donatists*, who in imitation of these, lived in the Mountains. But though *Felicissimus* were the first in the Schism, yet was he the less famous; for his name growing more obscure, *Novatus* gave the title unto the whole Sect, who from him were called *Novatians*; as also *Cathari* or pure; because they refused to communicate with the *Lapfi*, though repenting, accounting them unclean.

Ibid. § 38.

Ibid. § 39.

August. de hazes. cap. & Danzus in comment.

Pamel. in vita.

These Schismaticks growing unto this height, the careful *Cyprian*, though in exile, is very solicitous how to suppress them; and to prevent further mischiets, that hereupon might ensue: He falls upon the last remedy, writing unto *Caldonius* and *Herculanus* his Collegues, as also unto *Rogatian* and *Numidicus*, Compresbyters, that they excommunicate *Felicissimus* and his followers, which accordingly they performed, as appears by

Baron. ad an. 254. § 35.

Pamel. in vita.

Epist. 38.

Epist. Cypri. 39.

by their Letters unto the Clergy of *Carthage*. After two years he returned from his banishment, *Decius* that cruel Persecutor being slain by the *Goths*, and so peace restored unto the Church. Immediately after his return he useth his utmost endeavours to close up the rent that had been made in the Church during his absence; for which end he convenes a Synod, wherein after due debate, this moderate temperament was agreed upon concerning the *Lapsi*; that the causes and necessities of their fall being examined, the *Libellatici* (who were such as by their friends did offer or give in their Libels unto the Magistrate, wherein they did deny Christ, but withal desire that they might not be compelled to sacrifice) as the less Delinquents should be admitted unto communion upon their repentance; but the *Sacrificati* (who were such, as to preserve their Estates, or being by others perswaded thereunto, did offer unto the Idols) should have a longer time of repentance set and assigned unto them; and in case infirmity urged, they should receive peace, or be reconciled at the time of their death. In which Decree *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* agreed with them, a little after calling a Council at *Rome*, which consisted of sixty Bishops, so many Presbyters, and many Deacons, wherein the business of the *Lapsi* was thoroughly scann'd, and *Novatian* (set up as Bishop of *Rome* by his party against *Cornelius*) together with *Novatus* and *Felicissimus*, were excommunicated; the sum of which decree was this, that *Novatus* together with such as consented unto his opinion, which was repugnant unto

Pamel. in
vita.

Goulat. in
notis in
Cyp. Epist.
52. n. 39.

Angeloerat.
Epit. Con-
cil.

Gesner. Hist.
Concil.

Pamel. in
vita.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 42.

Gesner. Hist.
Concil.

Baron. ad
an. 256. §
34.

Pamél. in
vitâ.

Baron. ad
an. 255. § 28.

Baron. ad
an. 258.

Pamél. in
vitâ Cypr.

Baron. ad
an. 258. §
21. 12.

Ibid. § 27.
43.

Bin. de Con-
cil. tom. I.

unto brotherly love, should be banished the Church, and that the Brethren, fallen through infirmity in the troublesome time of persecution, should be received, after that the salve of repentance and confession had been applied unto the Maladies. By these Schisms was the Church much vexed for sometime, and *Cyprian* loaded with calumnies by the Authors and Maintainers of them; which he bare and overcame with invincible courage and patience. Many Councils were celebrated at *Carthage*, and in other Provinces, both of the Eastern and Western Churches, for the suppressing of them. What afterward became of these Schismaticks is not found; but persecution being renewed, seems for the present to have put an end unto these Controversies.

After this arose the question about the rebaptization of Hereticks returning again unto the Church: which had been in use in the African Churches, in the time of *Agrippinus*, the Predecessor of *Cyprian*, and before him in the time of *Tertullian*. This was occasioned by the practice of the *Novatians*, who were wont to baptize again, as unclean, such as they had drawn from the Church unto their faction; which provoked divers African Bishops to emulation, among whom *Cyprian* was the chief. Three Councils were by him call'd about this thing, in the last whereof were assembled at *Carthage*, out of *Africa*, *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, eighty and seven Bishops; by whom it was concluded, that such as had been by Hereticks baptized, were upon their return unto the Church to be

he admitted again, by rebaptization: and that, because there is but one Baptism, which is no where to be found, but in the true Church. The sentence of *Cyprian* is in the last place set down in these words. My sentence (or judgement herein) (saith he) the Epistle written unto our Collegue *Jubaianus* hath most fully express'd, viz. that according to the Evangelical and Apostolical contestation, the Adversaries of Christ, and called Antichrists, when they come unto the Church, are to be baptized with the only Baptism of the Church; that they may be made friends of foes, and of Antichrists Christians. Which Opinion was rejected by *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, and the Council by him there assembled. Yet did many of the Eastern Bishops, and of *Egypt*, as well as of *Africa* consent with *Cyprian* in this his opinion; which having for a while, to their utmost defended, they at last relinquished it, subscribing to *Stephen*, and the rest of the Church of *Rome*; and that *Cyprian* did so among the rest is very probable, of which more hereafter.

Shortly after followed another grievous persecution under the Emperour *Valerian* and *Galienus*, which lasted three years and an half; and extending very far, *Africa* as well as other Provinces felt the violence thereof; where the first that was aimed at and vexed, was *Cyprian*, who by *Paternus* the Proconsul was banished unto *Curubis* (or *Curabis*, as *Ptolemy*) a Town invironed with the *Lybian* Ocean, almost in the manner of an Island, standing on the Promontory of *Mercury*, over against *Sicily*, distant from

S

Carthage

Binetius
ibid.

Baron. ad
an. 258. §
42.

Ibid. 49.

Daille of the
Fathers,
lib. 2.

Baron. ad
an. 259. § 1.
3.4.

Ibid. § 6.

Baron. ad
an. 260. §
33.

Pamel. in
vitâ.

Plin. Hist.
nat. lib. 5.
cap. 3.

In Geo-
graph. lib. 4.

Baron. ad
an. 260. §
39.

Pontius in
in vitâ
Cypr.

Pamel. in
vitâ.

Carthage about fifty miles. In this place, of a pleasant situation, was he fitted with a convenient lodging, and visited by many of the brethren: Continuing here the most part of a year, he was not idle, as his Letters, not a few, written from hence do testify; wherein he ceased not to exhort those, unto whom he wrote, to constancy in suffering, even unto the laying down of their lives for Christ; in which employment let us a while leave him, till we shall come to speak of his Martyrdom.

In orat. in
laudem
Cypr. ingenio
faceto,
copioso,
suavi &
aperto.
Lactant. lib.
5. cap. 1.

Pamel. in
vitâ.

Nazianz. in
orat. in
laud. Cypr.

Ibid.

Possevin. in
apparât.

§ 2. He was a man of excellent natural parts (the elaborate piece of Nature, faith *Nazianzen*, the Flower of Youth) and these to the utmost improved by Education and industry; so that he attained unto a great height of secular Learning in all kinds, before his conversion. For besides his exactness in the art of Rhetorick, (whereof he was publick Professor in the famous City of *Carthage*, and he so far excelled, that he went beyond other men in Eloquence, as much as we exceed the brute Creatures) he was accurately skill'd in all other Arts; One (faith *Nazianzen*) that had gotten unto the top of Learning, not only of Philosophy, but other Sciences, in every kind, take him where you will: so that, in variety of knowledge, and in absolute insight into the Arts, yea, in every regard, he excelled all others. To which was added, his through knowledge in the Tongues, viz. the Greek and Latin, (the two learned Languages) wherein he was most skilful. The most Eloquent Preacher, *Daniel Tossanus*

Tertullian, did perswade both my self (saith *Keckerman*) and other candidates of the Ministry, that among all the Fathers, we would in the next place after the holy Scriptures, and most diligently, read *Cyprian*: and certainly I know not what spirit of Eloquence breaths upon us, when we have read this Author. These things did afterward prove of great advantage unto him, as did unto the Jews the Gold and Silver whereof they spoiled the Egyptians; 'Tis *Augustine's* allusion, whose words for their weight and worth do deserve perusal, which I shall here insert. As the Egyptians (saith he) had Gold and Silver, and Rayment, which the people of *Israel* departing out of *Egypt*, did clancularly challenge for a better use, not by their own Authority, but by the command of God; the Egyptians ignorantly lending them those things, which they used not well: So the Doctrines of the Gentiles do contain the Liberal Arts, very useful to the Truth, and some most profitable moral precepts; as also some Truths concerning the worship of that one God; Which Gold and Silver, as it were, of theirs (that they themselves instituted not, but did dig out certain Mines of the Divine Providence, extending it self every where, and which they perversly and injuriously abused to the worshipping of Devils) a Christian, when he departs from them, and in heart separates himself from their miserable society, ought to take or bring away for the just use of preaching the Gospel; and what else did many of our good and faithful men? Do we not see with how great a burden of

In Rhetoric. Ecclesi. lib. 2. cap. 3. § 9.

De doct. Christ. lib. 2. cap. 40.

Epist. 84.

Tit. v. 12.
1 Cor. 15. 33.
act. 17. 28.

Gold, Silver and Rayment, the Most sweet Doct̃or and blessed Matyr, Cyprian departed out of Egypt? So also did Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius, and innumerable of the Greeks, &c. thus he: And not much unlike is that passage of Jerom (alluding unto those words of Moses, Deut, 21. 10, &c). who being demanded by Magnus a Roman Orator, *Cur in opusculis suis secularium literarum interdum poneret exempla & candorem Ecclesie ethnicorum sordibus pollueret? responsum, (inquit) breuiter habeto: Quis nesciat & in Moyse & in Prophetarum voluminibus quedam assumpta de gentiliis libris? Sed & Paulus Apostolus Petarum Epimenidis, Menandri, & Arati versiculis abusus est. Quid ergo mirum, si & ego sapientiam secularem propter eloquii venustatem & membrorum pulchritudinem, de ancilla & captivâ Israelitidem facere cupio? & si quicquid in eâ mortuum est idololatriæ, voluptatis, erroris, libidinum, vel præcido vel rado; & mixtos purissimo corpori vernaculo, ex eâ genero Domino Sabaoth? labor meus in familiam Christi profecit.*

In notis in
Nazianz.
orat. 42.De baptis.
contrâ Do.
natist. lib. 6.
cap. 2.

But the most splendid Jewels, that were his principal Ornaments, Christianity only furnished him withal; which made him exceeding amiable in the eyes both of God and Men: so that nothing was more illustrious or famous in the whole world: (saith Billius quoting the words of Jerom) accounted by the Church as a Star of the greatest Manitude: *Non solum malos Catholicos (inquit Augustinus) nullo modo comparamus, sed nec bonos facile coequamus beato Cypriano, quem inter raros & & paucos excellentissime gratie viros numerat*

pia

pis mater Ecclesia. He was (saith Nazianzen) sometime (*viz.* before his conversion) the singular honour of *Carthage*; but now, *viz.* since his becoming a Christian, of the whole world. His natural disposition was very sweet and lovely; but being polished by Religion, it became much more so: in whom was to be found such an equal composition of gravity and chearfulness, severity and mildness, that it might be doubtful whether he deserved to be more feared or loved, but that indeed he equally deserved both.

In orat. in laud Cyprian.

Pontius in vita Cypri.

His knowledge in the Mysteries of the Gospel was such, that for it he was renowned every where, his writings that were dispersed far and near, did spread his fame and made him of great note not only in the *African* and Western, but also in the Churches of the East. In comparison of whom the great *Augustin* doth so far undervalue himself, that (saith he) I am very much, yea incomparably inferior unto the desert of *Cyprian*. And he was not only a shining, but also a burning light, so exemplary in his conversation, that the Rays of Grace and Holiness streaming forth therein, did even confound the minds of the beholders. *Talis ubique Sermone habitus est (inquit Erasmus) ut loqui sentis verè Christianum Episcopum, ac Martyris destinatum. Petrus ardet Evangelicà pietate, & peiori respondet oratio: loquitur diserta, sed magis fortia quàm diserta: neque tam loquitur fortia, quàm vivit.* Insomuch that in the sentence pronounced upon him, he is stiled the Standard-bearer of his Sect, and enemy of the gods *qui futurus esset ipse documento, & cujus sanguine inciperet Disciplina sanciri.*

Augustin. contr. duas Epist. Pelagianor. lib. 4. cap. 8.

Contrà Cresson. pragmatic. lib.

Pontius in vita.

In prefat. ante opera Cypriani

Pontius in vita eius.

Among the rest, those graces, whose lustre and brightness, the place he held, the employments he managed, and the condition of the times that he lived in, did more especially discover, were such as these.

De baptis.
contr. Dona-
tist. lib. 2.

Cent. 3. c. 10.
Sculter. in
Medull.

Pontius in
vitâ ejus.

Job 29. 15,
16, 17.

Pamel. in vi-
tâ ejus & in
notis in E-
pist. 60.

Epist. 60. § 4.

In notis.
quon. 5.

1. His humility, that sweet grace, peculiar to Christianity, this added a beauty unto all the rest, *tanto erat excellentior, quanto humilior*, inquit *Augustinus*; who was so much the higher in the account of others, by how much the lower he was in his own. Being to deliberate about weighty affairs, his manner was to decree nothing without his colleagues, neither would he pertinaciously love and adhere unto his own apprehensions, but rather embrace what was by others profitably and wholesomely suggested.

2. His Charity and compassion to those in want and durance: for immediately upon his conversion he parted with what he had, and gave it for the relief of the Poor. He was (as *Job* speaks of himself) *eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame; a Father unto the Poor, and the cause which he knew not, he searched out; he brake the jaws of the Wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his Teeth*. And when many had been taken Captives by the barbarous *Goths*, or *Scythians*, he sent an hundred thousand *Sestertia* from the Church, for the redeeming of them: so himself speaks: *missus (inquit) Sestertia centum millia nummum, que isthic in Ecclesiâ, cui de Domini indulgentiâ presumus, Cleri & plebis apud nos consentiâ collatione collecta sunt*. The sum being so vast, *Pamelius* conjectures it ought to be only *Sestertia centum*, and that *millia nummum*, added for

for explications sake, is from the Margin crept into the Text: or else, he thinks it should be thus read: *Sestertium centum millia nummum*. Yea while he was in exile, he not only wrote, but also sent relief unto those poor Christians who were condemned unto the Mines. He manifested also this Grace in his Indulgence to forgive and receive those offenders, who repenting returned unto the Church: Hear his own words— *Remitto omnia, inquit, multa dissimulo, studio & voto colligende fraternitatis, etiam quæ in Deum commissa sunt, non pleno judicio Religionis examino, delictis plusquam oportet remittendo penè ipse delinquo: amplector promptâ & plenâ dilectione cum penitentiâ revertentes, peccatum suum satisfactione humili & simplici contententes.*

See Brerewood de pretiis vet. nummorum.

Pamel. in vitâ ejus. Cypr. Ep. 77.

Epist. 55. § 18.

3. His patience in bearing injuries and wrongs: whereof he gave an ample testimony in his behaviour toward those who opposed him, when he was chosen Bishop; Oh how patiently did he bear with them, and with what a deal of clemency did he forgive them; reckoning them among his friends to the admiration of many.

Pontius in vitâ ejus.

4. His equanimity and peaceableness; being a very great lover and maintainer of unity among Brethren, which he was studious to preserve and hold, even with those that dissented from him: as appears in the grand difference between him and Stephen Bishop of Rome, and others about the re-baptization of Hereticks: for, as himself did not break Communion by separating from them, so neither did he cease to persuade

August. contra Donatist. lib. 1. & contra Crescon. lib. 2.

Epist. 76.
§ 12.

Bin. Concil.
Tom. 1.

Nazianz. in
Orat. in
Laud. Cypr.

Lyrinenf.
contr. hæref.
cap. 10.

In præfat.
ante opera
Cypr.

In medull.

others also, that they should bear with one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: his words that he used in the Council of Carthage, speaks out this sweet temper of his Spirit. *Super est (inquit) Collegæ dilectissimi, ut de hac ipsa re quid singuli sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure Communionis, aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes.*

To these many more might be added, as his contempt of riches, keeping under of his body, purity of Life, diametrically opposite to the lusts of his former conversation, gravity joyned with humanity, *equi-distant* both, from arrogancy and baseness: fidelity, prudence, industry, watchings and the like, which more at large are commemorated and recorded by Pontius and Nazianzen, in all which regards he was very eminent: Hence Vincentius styles him, *Ilud Sanctorum omnium & Episcoporum & Martyrum lumen, beatissimum Cyprianum*: He may be instead of many (saith Erasmus) whether you respect eloquence or Doctrine, or the dignity of a Pastor, or a brest every where breathing forth the vigour of an Apostolical Spirit, or the glory of Martyrdom. Whose writings (saith Scultetus) have in them so happy a genius, that, although they were interwoven with divers errors, yet they found some Doctors of the Church, not only admirers of the more sound Doctrine, but candid Interpreters even of the errors contained in them. How transcendent a Man he was in the judgement of the great Augustin is evident, and may be collected from the Titles he gives him, wherein the

the Epithets which for the most part he makes use of, such as are *Doctior Suavissimus, lucidissimus, pacis amantissimus, excellentissime gratie*, also *Martyr beatissimus, fortissimus, gloriosissimus, &c.* A Man (saith he) whose praise I cannot reach, to whose many Letters I compare not my writings, whose Wit I love, with whose mouth I am delighted, whose Charity I admire, and whose Martyrdom I reverence. Add hereto the Encomium of *Prudentius*, whose words are;

Contrà Crescon. lib. 2. cap. 32.

————— *Tenet ille Regna cæli,*
Nec minùs involutat terris, nec ab hoc re-
cedit orbe;
Differit, eloquitur, tractat, docet, instruit,
prophetat.
Nec Lybie populos tantum regit exitusque
in ortum.
Solis, & usque obitum, Gallos fovet, imbu-
it Britannos,
Præsidet Hesperie, Christum ferit ultimis
Hiberis.

αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς

Let me shut up all with the words of *Pon-*
tius: I pass by (saith he) many other and
 great things, which the Volume, lest it swell
 too big, suffers me not more largely to relate,
 of which let it suffice to have said this only,
 that if the Gentiles might have heard them
 at their Bars, they would perhaps forthwith
 have believed and become Christians.

In vitâ Cypr.

§ 3. The monuments of this excellent and
 choice spirit were many, *Sole clariora*, lively
 representing as in a glass his great worth, and
 wherein

Hieronym. in
 catal.

Strigel, cited
in criseis
Melancthon.

Ad Letam
Epist. 7. Bu-
choleer
Chronolog.

In passione
Cyprian. a-
pud Pamel.

Epist. ad
Paulinum.
n. 13.

Marian Vi-
dor. in
Schol. Erasmi.
in præfat. an-
te opera Cy-
prian.

Pamel. in
vita ejus.

wherein though dead, he yet liveth and speaketh: Of which *Augustin* had so venerable an esteem, that he accounted all his own works not equal unto one of *Cyprian's* Epistles: And *Jerom* giving directions unto the noble Widow *Leta* for the pious education of her Daughter *Paula*, recommends the works of *Cyprian* to her continual perusal: *Cypriani (inquit) opuscula semper in manu teneat. Cujus singula prope verba spirant Martyrium.* They are but fragments as it were, that remain, and the loss of what is wanting is much bewailed by *Erasmus*.

Of those many that are lost, I find but few mentioned in any Authors: so that it seems, not only the Books themselves, but even their very Names and Titles are extinct with them. *Paulus Diaconus* reckoneth among the innumerable Volumes (as he hath it) which he wrote, a very profitable Chronicle compiled by him: Also that he discoursed most excellently upon the Evangelists and other Books of the Scripture. But how little credit this report deserves, will appear from the words of *Jerom* (a Man as well as most acquainted with the writings of those that went before him) who tells us, that he never commented upon the sacred Scriptures, being wholly taken up with the exercise of vertue (*totus in exercitatione, aliàs, exhortatione virtutum*) and occupied or hindred by the straits of persecution: Unless his three books of testimonies unto *Quirinus* (which are as it were common places out of the Scriptures) might be looked on by him as Commentaries, wherein indeed he briefly glosseth upon and giveth some light unto

unto many Texts, though this were not the thing that he intended in those Tables.

Among the works of *Cyprian* that remain unto this day, his excellent Epistles are deservedly ranked in the first place; as having a notable vein of piety running through them; (*Epistole Cypriani, inquit Chemnitius, referunt pelius ardens Pietate, ita ut lectorem accendere possint*) and wherein is discovered abundance of that prudence, candour, meekness, modesty, gravity, and holy severity, wherewith his rare spirit was so much adorned. These are the most genuine births of our Author, though yet they have not continued altogether untouched, nor have escaped the injury of those, whose fingers have been itching to tamper with and corrupt them, for the support of their tottering cause, which truth will never patronize.

In Orat. de
lect patr an-
te loc. com-
mun.

Rivet. Crit.
Sac.
For they
have been
bold to add
not only sum-

dry Epistles, but have blotted and blurred divers of them, which were most evidently written by that blessed Martyr, Dr. James, of the mysteries of the Indices Expurgat.

There are at this day eighty three of them in number, whereof some few were from others unto himself, the rest written by him unto the Bishops, Presbyters, and Churches or Brethren. They are by *Pamelius* digested and cast into this order, two were written shortly after his Baptism, thirty and eight in his first Exile, which lasted the space of two years; eighteen during the time wherein *Corneilius* and *Lucius* late Bishops of Rome; eight miscellany Epistles, written in the times of the peace of the Church; ten in the time of *Stephen* Bishop of Rome, concerning the Re-baptization

Cent. 3. c. 10.

Index ante
opera Cypri.
edit. Gou-
lart.

Pamel. prae-
fat. ad lecto-
rem.

Goulart. in
Epist. ante o-
pera Cypria.

Cocci censur.

Bilson's dis-
sentance.

In Epist. an-
te opera
Cypr.

baptization of Hereticks; and seven in his last secession a little before his Martyrdom. The same Authour hath taken good pains in his more exact Chronological account of the particular years, wherein these Epistles (as also his other Treatises) were written, which affords not a little light for the better understanding of them: for he had found them to have such a mutual dependance one upon another, that many of them without the help of others could not well be understood. This Chronology is prefixed by *Pamelius* in his Edition of these Epistles, together with the rest of *Cyprian's* works, in whose diligence in his emendations and annotations (which contain many Ecclesiastical Antiquities for the illustration of them)deserveth commendation; Yet in this was he unhappy, that being a sworn Vassal of the Romish Synagogue, he strains his Wit and skill, to reconcile (which cannot be) the opinions and judgement of *Cyprian* and other Ancients, with Pontifical Traditions and the *Anathematisms* of the *Tridentine* Conventicle: which filth cast upon the famous *Cyprian* and Orthodox antiquity, *Simon Goulart* hath with good success endeavoured to wipe off in his Learned notes, as an antidote subjoyned unto those of *Pamelius*: by which means this Edition comes to be more exact than any that were before it, though there were divers. Of which *Pamelius* a *Louvain* Divine, the said *Goulart* gives this approbation, that he was an ingenious Man, of much reading, most diligent, of very accurate and quick expression, and one that had merited much of those studious in Theology in his Edition

Edition of *Cyprian*: if contenting himself to have pointed at the various readings, he had, either not touched, or more sincerely explicated, those Antiquities.

As touching these Epistles, I shall refer the Reader for the *Analysis* and contents of them unto *Scultetus*, who hath taken laudable pains in surveying the works of our Authour, together with divers other of the Ancients. It shall suffice me to reflect upon them in a more general way, and what is remarkable in them, and to hint somewhat that may be of use in reference unto them: And herein I shall observe that order wherein they are ranked and set down by *Pamelius*.

In medallia
Patrum.

The second Epistle contains a flourishing and eloquent Narration of his conversion and Baptism, favouring much for its quaintness, of the Rhetorick Schools from whence he was newly come. The phrase of this Epistle (saith *Erasmus*) is more neat and florid, then that of the rest, retaining still the scent of Scholastical eloquence. In *Secundâ Epistolâ* nonnihil luset apparatu pompâque Sermonis; unde & *Augustinus*, (*Lib. 4. cap. 14. de Doctr. Christianâ*) *comptæ, jucundæ splendideque dictionis depromit exemplum*. It is entituled by *Tritheimius*, *lib. de gratiâ Dei*. And by *Antoninus*, *De Gratiâ & abundantia malitiæ sæculi*. But this accurate Eloquence of his gotten with so much sweat, and augmented with continual exercise, and for which he was famous every where, he laid aside as of little profit and necessity, preferring before it Christian simplicity. Yet, that in this Epistle he wrote in so high a strain, I suppose it therefore so fell out

Cent. 3. c. 70.
In annotati-
uncul.

Erasm. in
præfat. ante
opera Cypr.

De Script.
Eccles.
Chronic. ad
an. 263.

Baron. ad
an. 250.
§ 11.

De doct.
Christ. lib. 4.
cap. 14.

out (saith *Augustine*) or rather was advisedly done, that posterity might know, what a tongue the soundness of Christian Doctrine had recalled from such redundance or superfluity, and restrained to a more grave and modest eloquence: such as in his following writings is securely loved, religiously desired, but most difficultly performed. Wherefore this holy Man did shew, that he could so speak, because some where he spake so; but withal that he would not; because he afterward no where doth so. *Nilil (inquit Erasmus) reperies in Cypriano, quod ad ostentationem ingenii videri possit aseitum, aut quod ullo pacto usfructum sapiat.*

In præfat.
ante opera
Cypri.

Ad plebem.

In the twelfth Epistle, *ad plebem*, wherein he desires them to wait for his return, that we (saith he) and our fellow Bishops being assembled together, may examine the Letters and desires of the blessed Martyrs, according to the Doctrine of our Lord, and in the presence of the Confessors, & *secundum vestram quoque sententiam*, and according as you shall think convenient. Those last words are maliciously left out; because (saith *Daille*) they would not have us to know, that the faithful people had ever any thing to do with, or had any vote in the affairs of the Church.

Treatise of
the Fathers.

Cypriano
Papæ, Pres-
byteri & Di-
aconi Romæ
consistentes,
salutem.

M.S. the Life
of Sir Tho-
mas Moor.

In the thirty first Epistle, there remained for a long time a foul fault uncorrected, by which the place was so depraved, that no perfect sence could be made of it: which was at length happily amended by the dexterity of that Phoenix of her Sex for Learning, *Margaret* the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Moor*: one unto whom *Erasmus* wrote many Epistles and

and dedicated his Commentaries on certain Hymns of *Prudentius*, calling her the flower of all the Learned Matrons of England. She was of a quick and sharp Wit, and composed in Greek and Latin both Verse and Prose; and that most eloquently, to the admiration of those that perused her writings. This Gentlewoman reading this Epistle, and being come to the place corrupted, (which was this, *Absit enim ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ vigorem suum tam profanâ facilitate dimittere, & NISI VOS severitatis eversâ fidei Majestate dissolvere*) presently without help of other example or instruction, quoth she, those words *Nisi Vos*, must be, *Nervos*: and so the sentence by that word is made plain and perspicuous. With this emendation is this Epistle set forth in the Edition of *Pamelius*, who making honourable mention of the Author thereof, reports it from *Costerus*, that tells us he had it from Doctor *Clemens* a Learned Physician, one familiarly acquainted with Sir *Thomas* his Family, as having married Mrs. *Margaret Gage* another rare proficient in that famous Female Academy. *Rhenanus* styles it a very notable Epistle; *Habemus (inquit) de Disciplinâ Romanæ Ecclesiæ valde insignem Epistolam Presbyterorum & Diaconorum urbis Romæ.*

In annotat.
num. 15.

In Schol. in
Vincent. Ly-
rinenf.

In annotat.
in lib. Tert.
de pœnitentiâ

In the general there are three things especially observable in the Epistles of our Author.

1. There are to be found in them divers evident footsteps of the ancient Discipline of the Churches of Christ. As concerning Officers and the manner of electing them: of the power of those Officers, and how it was made

made use of by them; of the excommunication of offenders, and the restoring of them unto Communion again, upon their repentance and satisfaction given unto the Church: of the care that ought to be had of the poor, imprisoned, &c. of which see *Epist.* 6. 11, 12, 13 31, 34, 37, 52, 54, 64, 65.

2. Many notable cases propounded unto, and resolved by him; particularly, these following among the rest.

Ad Magnum
Epist. 76.

1. Whether *Novatian* the Schismatick could or might baptize or no? he denies that he could (though herein he erred) which he endeavours to maintain and make good by divers arguments: but the good Bishop (as *Goulart* observes in his notes) undertook a bad cause, in defending whereof he discovered much weakness, though withal no less modesty, in the close of his discourse.

Ad Eucratium
Epist. 62.

2. Whether a Stage-Player, persevering in the exercise of that unseemly Art, ought to communicate? To which his answer is in the Negative, that he ought not. *Puto, inquit, nec Majestati Divina, nec Evangelica Disciplina congruere, ut pudor & honor Ecclesie tam turpi & infami contagione fædetur*, which place (saith *Goulart*) meets with those who admit unto the Communion without distinction, such as are impious and impure.

In Notis.

3. Whether those who had been baptized by Hereticks, upon their return unto the Catholick Church, ought again to be baptized? His answer is Affirmative, (wherein joyned with him many other Bishops) and as the ground of it, he labours to prove the Baptism of Hereticks to be a nullity; wherein he doth
humanum

humantum aliquid pati. And this is the chief subject of divers Epistles, viz. from the seventieth unto the seventy seventh, among which in the seventy sixth Epistle, the first *Quere*, viz. that about the Baptism of Novatian, is answered.

4. Whether the *Clinici* (i.e. those who were baptized upon their sick Beds) are to be accounted legitimate or rightful Christians, because they are not washed, but only sprinkled with baptismal water? Unto which his answer is affirmative: *Nos, inquit, estimamus in nullo mutilari & debilitari posse beneficia divina, nec minus aliquid illis posse contingere, ubi plenâ & totâ fide & dantis & sumen- tis accipitur, quod de divinis muneribus hauritur, &c.* This by *Pamelius* is made to be the latter part of the seventy sixth Epistle, and not an entire one by it self: and so thinks *Erasmus* of it also, though in some Editions it be disjoyned from it: It's plain, saith *Erasmus*, from the first words, that it is no entire Epistle; for who would begin an Epistle after this manner, *Quæstisti etiam*: yet in his Edition are these made two distinct Epistles, viz. one the sixth of the first Book; the other the seventh of the fourth.

Epist. 76.

In ândotat.
ante opera
Cyprian.

5. Whether *Fortunatianus* (sometime a Bishop) who had sacrificed unto Idols, might challenge or take unto himself his office again? He answers negatively, rendring divers reasons why he so judgeth.

Epist. 64.

3. Many excellent and pressing exhortations unto constancy in suffering for the name of Christ; as also sundry choice documents and directions for Holiness and Christian Conversation:

In vita Cy-
prius.

In vita ejus.

Epist. 31.

Pamel. in ar-
gument.

versation; for which work he was so completely furnished, that *Pontius* would conclude from thence, his flight in the time of persecution, and reservation from Martyrdom for a while, to be from the special providence of God, because of the need the Church then had of him: For, saith he, who should teach the *Lapsi* Repentance, Hereticks Truth, Schismaticks Unity, the Sons of God peace and the Law of Evangelical Prayer? Who should comfort Christians tenderly affected with their losses, or rather those of little faith, with the hope of future things? Whence should we so learn mercy or patience? Who should raise up so many Martyrs with divine exhortations? Well then it happened, that a man so many ways so necessary, should be for a while respited from Martyrdom. He was therefore, saith *Pamelius*, saved by the Lord, that being destined unto Martyrdom afterward, he might by his exhortations send before many Martyrs unto the Lord, who, had they wanted the incentive of this celestial Trumpet, might else have fallen from the faith. Hear the words of the Presbyters and Deacons at *Rome*, to this purpose, say they in an Epistle unto him, *Maximas tibi atque uberes gratias referre debemus & reddimus, quod — victores futuri viribus tui sermonis animasti, ut quanquam hoc totum de fide consentientium & de divinâ indulgentiâ venire videatur, tamen in martyrio subito ex aliquo debitores facti esse videantur.* Of this kind among the rest are *Epist. 6. 8. 9. 16.* wherein in an eloquent and plainly divine stile, he confirmeth the confessors: also *Epist. 25.*

25. 56. 77. & 81. In Epistolâ 77. (inquit *Baronius*) elucet mirificè Christiani nominis excellentiâ quæ eo gloriosior redditur, atque præclarior, quo magis fuerit afflictata molestius, ac rebus fatigata contrariis, præstat eas literas audire, utpote novissimos cygneos viri sanctissimi cantus, qui mirificum quendam reddunt flagrantis spiritus cum suavitate concentum.

For his other works, *Pamelius* conceives, that in the last recited words of *Pontius*, is hinted the order in which they were written; for who can think, saith he, that meerly by accident, and not rather purposely and with mature deliberation, he should observe such an order in his words, which he therefore observes in his Edition, and so shall I in the recital of them. His Treatises then are these following.

1. Of the discipline and habit of Virgins, entituled by *Erasmus*, only *De habitu Virgini*: and by *Jerom* and *Tribemius*, *de virginitate*. It was written by him while he was yet a Presbyter, or at least shortly after he was made Bishop, viz. in the first year: of which *Rhenanus* thus speaks, *Cyprianus scripsit de habitu Virginum, nitidior aliquanto faciliorque hoc nostro authore, viz. Tertulliano*. *Jerom* styles it an egregious Volume, wherein he exhorts Virgins to a conversation suitable to their profession, to contemn the world, and to shun the abuses and corruptions of it, which in a lofty strain he stirs them up unto: for so *Augustin*, *ad virginitatem magno accendit eloquio Cyprianus*: In this Tract, (as in others also) he much imitates his Master, as he calls him, *Tertullian* upon the like subject.

In præfat. in
Tom. 2.

Epist. ad De-
metriad. n.
8. de Script.
Pamel. in vi-
ti.

In argument.
lib. Tertull.
de patient.
Epist.

De doct.
Christ. lib. 4.
cap. 21.
Erasm. in
Margin.

Pamel. in
prefat. ante
tom. 2.

Pamel. in an-
notat.

Antonin.
chron. part.
1. tit. 7. in
annotat. in
Epist. 51. &
in annotat.
in lib. de uni-
tat. Eccles.

Contra Cre-
seon. lib. 2.
c. 33.
Pamel. in vi-
ti.
Pamel. in
notis.

2. *De Lapsis*. 1. Of such as fell in time of persecution, which *Erasmus* calls by the name of *Sermo*: this with the two following was written shortly after his return from exile, peace being restored unto the Church: wherein congratulating the Confessors, and blessing God for their invincible constancy under the Cross, he greatly bewails the fall of such, as by the threatenings of the adversary were drawn to sacrifice, and did not rather withdraw according unto the counsel of Christ, blaming them, that before their repentance they would even extort communion and peace from some Presbyters without the consent of the Bishop: and lastly, by divers arguments he exhorts them unto a publick acknowledgment of their sin, and to give satisfaction unto the Church. Herein also he imitates *Tertullian* in his Book of repentance.

3. Of the unity of the Church; some do add the word Catholick: and this *Pamelius* (as himself more than once boastingly tells us) from the fifty first Epistle, first found out to be the true Title of this Book, which *Erasmus* and some others do stile, A Treatise of the Simplicity of Prelates: and *Augustine* an Epistle touching unity. A golden Book, written by occasion of the Novatian Rent or Schism, that he might deter his Carthaginians from siding with *Novatus*, who were too much inclining unto, and not so averse from him as they should have been. Wherein he earnestly presseth the Pastours carefully to preserve unity in the Church, by many weighty arguments; shewing the original and source of Heresies to be the contempt of the truth and

and celestial Doctrine of Christ, commend-
ing unity in the Church; and in the close he
discourseth of the Duty of those who stand
firm in the unity of the Church, viz. to shun
the society of Schismaticks. This excellent
piece of *Cyprian* the Vassals of the Romish See
have been most busily tampering with, and as
palpably corrupting for their advantage in
point of the Popes Supremacy; having boldly
systed in here and there, as they thought fit,
whole periods and sentences against the faith
of the best and most uncorrupted Manu-
scripts: the additions are these following,

Daille lib. x.
cap. 4.
*Treatise of
the Fathers.*

1. He built his Church on him alone (*viz.*
Peter) and commanded him to feed his
Sheep.

2. He established one Chair.

3. The Primacy was given unto *Peter*, to
shew that there was but (one Church of
Christ) and but one Chair.

4. He that forsakes the Chair of *Peter*, on
which the Church was founded, doth he hope
himself to be in the Church? Of these last
words, saith *Philander* (after *Theophilus*
had named six Editions of *Cyprian*, in which
they are not) indeed I confels the words were

*Bilson's dis-
ference, part,
1.*

wanting, till *Pamelius* a Canon of *Bruges*
found them in an old written Copy lying in
the Abby of *Cambron*. All these additions
will evidently appear unto any one, who
(without having recourse unto other copies)
will but compare *Erasmus* and *Pamelius* their
Editions together. He that desireth to be far-
ther satisfied in the foul fraud of these shame-
less forgers in this particular, let him please
to peruse the learned Doctor *Reynolds* in his

conference with *Hart*, chap. 5. division. 2. *Bil-son* in his difference, &c. part 1. pag. 89. and *Doctor James*, of the Corruption of the Fathers, part 2.

Rivet. crit.
fac.

James of the
corrupts. of
of the Fa-
thers. part. 2.
pag. 10, 20.
22.

De honest.
discipl. lib.
20. cap. 7.

Lib. de grat.
& lib. arbit.
cap. 13.

So many have been the mutations, additions, detractions and variations of this small Book, that the laborious abovenamed *Doctor James* (in a little Treatise written by him, which he entituled *Cyprian* restored or revived) hath observed no less than two hundred and eighty eight of them, by a diligent collation of four manuscript Copies; this the bold Jesuit *Possevine* in his *Apparatus*, inserts as his own, which the Doctor thus chargeth him with: It hath pleased him, saith he, in his first Tome, at the word *Cyprian*, to steal a Treatise of mine, and concealing my name, *mutatis mutandis*, chopping and changing some few words at his pleasure, to publish it unto the world: *Sic nos non vobis melificamus apes*. A most unworthy act, and at least deserving the brand of base ingenuity: a fault that *Crinitus* blames in *Macrobius*, who having been much beholding unto *A. Gellius*, makes no acknowledgment thereof: *Cum sit, inquit, obnoxie mentis & ingenii maxime infelicis, nunquam fateri, per quos autores profeceris*.

4. Of the Lord's Prayer, which Treatise *Augustine* thus commends, I admonish, saith he, and much exhort you to read diligently that Book of Blessed *Cyprian*, which he wrote of the Lord's Prayer; and as the Lord shall help you, to understand and commit it to memory; he writes it unto one *Valentinus* and the Monks that were with him.

In

In this piece commending this prayer, he shews how we ought to draw near unto God; then explains the several parts and petitions of it: unto which he subjoyns somewhat of the necessity of prayer, how the mind ought to be composed in this duty; and when it should be performed. Herein also he imitates *Tertullian de Oratione*. Est, inquit *Sixtus Senensis sanctæ & venustæ brevitatis explicatio*.

Sculter. in
Medull.

Bibl. Sanct.
lib. 4.

In Annotat.
Erasmi. in
Margine.

Pamel. in
Annotat.
De Justit.
lib. 6. cap. 4.

Hieronym.
in epist. ad
Mag. n. 84.
Ad an. 356.

5. Unto *Demetrianus*, the Proconsul of *Africa*; an Apologetical or inveſtive Orati-
on; *Erasmus* wonders why any should rather call it a Treatise, then an Epistle. Wherein, using a more elaborate stile, he clears the Christians of those calumnies that were cast upon them by *Demetrian* and other *Ethnicks*; who imputed it unto the Christians not worshipping the Gods, that those grievous judgments of famine, pestilence and war, did so rage in the *Romane* Empire: the true cause whereof he shews to be their contempt of Christianity, which he proves by divers arguments; and closeth with an exhortation unto the Gentiles to come unto God, and to believe on Jesus Christ. In this likewise he imitates his Master *Tertullian* in his *Apology*, and in his book against *Scapula*; but is blamed by *Lactantius* for not handling the matter as he ought; because he dealt with an Heathen by Scripture testimonies, which *Demetrian* esteemed as fained and vain; who should have been refuted by reason and arguments grounded thereupon; yet herein is he defended by *Baronius* who labors to excuse him.

6. Of the vanity of idols; or, that idols are not gods: wherein he proves that they were men, and consequently that the worshipping of them can be no way profitable. And that there is but one true God and Lord of all, whom the Christians worship. *Erasmus* suspects it to be a fragment of a larger work, because it begins so abruptly. Of which piece *Jerom* thus speaks, commending his wit and skill: with what brevity, with what knowledge of all Histories, with what splendor of words and sense hath *Cyprian* discussed that idols are not Gods? Herein also as he imitated *Tertullian* in his Apology, so likewise doth he *Minutius Felix* in his *Octavius*; or *Minutius* him: for they lived near about the same time.

In Annotat.

Ad Magni.
epist. 84.

Pamel. in
vita ejus.

7. Of Mortality; written by him in a time wherein the pestilence invaded and raged in divers provinces, and chiefly *Alexandria* and the rest of *Egypt*. *Usher* calls it a famous Treatise: wherein by divers arguments, he armeth Christians against the fear of death; and admonisheth them not to grieve immoderately for those that die, shewing what are the fruits of death, and of how great advantage it is unto them that die in Lord. A book, saith *Augustine*, laudably known to many, yea almost to all that love Ecclesiastical writings; *in quo dicit mortem fidelibus utilem reperiri, quoniam peccandi periculis hominem subtrahit, & in non peccandi securitatem constituit.*

Epist. in Chro.
refers it ad
An. 255.
Ans. to the
Jes. chall.

De predest.
l. 1. c. 14.

Contr. 9.
Epist. Pelag.
l. 4. c. 8.
Epist. ad Pam-
mach. 26.

8. Of works and almsdeeds: *Augustin* calls it an Epistle: and *Jerom* *grande volumen*, a great volum wherein he exhorteth those
that

that were able, to contribute toward the relieving of the poor, who by pestilence, famine and other calamities had been reduced unto great exigencies.

9. Of the good of Patience, wherein, *virtutem hanc per effecta magnificè amplificat*: commending the practice of it from the example of God, Christ & the Saints: proving also both by Scripture and reason, that 'tis not only profitable, but also necessary for a Christian. *Baronius* shews us the occasion of the writing hereof.

Veritus, inquit, magnopere Cyprianus, ne inter Episcopos obortis contentionibus, magno aliquo schismate Catholica scinderetur Ecclesia, ad

inverteda futura mala, egregium illud prophylacticon preparavit antidotum, libellum illum de bono Patientie scribens, quò demonstraret

absq; patientiâ impossibile esse servari inter fratres mutuam charitatem. And Cyprian himself in his Epistle to *Jubaianus* concerning the rebaptization of hereticks, having

said in the last paragraph, that he would not for Hereticks contend with his fellow Bishops; he shuts up all with these words:

servatur à nobis patienter & firmiter charitas animi, collegii bonor, vinculum fidei, & concordia sacerdotii. Propter hoc etiam libellum de bono patientie, quantum valuit nostra mediocritas, permittente Domino & inspirante, conscripsimus quem ad te pro mutuâ dilectione transmissimus.

In this book also he much imitates *Tertullian* upon the same subject, with a pious and commendable emulation:

for he feared lest (as it afterward fell out) the writings of so eminent a man should be lost or laid aside: many even then abstaining

from

Keck. rhet.
Ecclesi.

Ad Anas.
§ 35.

Id Jubaian.
Epist. 73.

Rhenan. in
Annotat. in
Tertull. de
patient.
Id. in arg. Jo
l. Tertul.
de patient.

from the reading of him, because he had so unhappily separated from the Church.

Rhetor.
Eccles. lib. 1.
lib. de bapt.
cont. Donat.
1. 4. c. 8.
In Epist. ad
Galat. cap. 5.
Pamel. in
præfat. ante
tom. 2. operæ
Cypr.

10. Of zeal (he takes this word here in the worse sense) and envy: which by many arguments he deborteth from; shewing whence it proceeds, and how much evil it produceth. *Sermo præclarus*, inquit Keckermannus, & *egregia coniectio*. Augustine calls this Tract also an Epistle; and Jerom, *librum valde optimum*. The occasion of the writing of this, as of the former Treatise also, was the controversie and great contest that arose between Stephen Bishop of Rome and the African Bishops about the Baptizing of Hereticks.

Pamel. in
arg. & Baro.
ad an. 255.
§. 45.
In Annotat.
in Hierony.
Epist. 50. ad
Pammach.
Cens. Patr.

11. An exhortation to Martyrdom; written unto *Fortunatus*; distinguished into twelve Chapters containing so many arguments, whereby he presseth unto Martyrdom: which are collected almost *verbatim* out of the Scriptures. *Baronius* and *Pamelius* are very confident, that it is *Cyprian's*, and much wonder that any should ascribe it unto *Hilary*; which yet *Marianus Victorinus* doth as confidently, induced hereunto by the stile, and authority of *Jerom*. For which cause the industrious Mr. *Cook* doubts not to rank it among the works falsely ascribed unto this Father.

In præfat.
Cypr.

12. Three books of Testimonies unto *Quirinus*, being none other then a rapsody or collection of several places of Scripture. The two first, against the Jews: In the one he shews that the Jews have departed from God, and so have lost that grace and indulgence which formerly was afforded unto them;

them; and that the Gentiles from among all nations have succeeded them, and come into their place. The other contains the mystery of Christ, that he came according as the Scriptures had foretold, and hath done and performed all things by which he might be known. In the third, which the Centurists stile, *de disciplina Christianorum*, he instructs *Quirinus* in a Christian life; it being a Collection of Divine Precepts and Commands, which may be the more easie and profitable for the Readers, for that, being but a few and digested into a Breviary, they are the sooner Read over, and more frequently repeated. *Pamelius* cannot wonder enough at the censure of *Erasmus*, that it should seem more probable unto him, that these books are not *Cyprians*: Yet is this sagacious censor seconded by *Scultetus*, who renders some reasons why he should make question of it, viz. that some Greek forms of speech, are used in the third book, which are not to be found in the other works of *Cyprian*: withal he adds, that many things do offer themselves unto the diligent Reader, by which without any great ado they may be distinguished from what of this Father is genuine.

Cent. 3. c. 10.
præfa. Cypr.
in lib. 3.

In argu. in
l. Eras. in
Annot. ante
opera Cypr.
In Medull.

13. The sentences or suffrages of the Council of *Carthage* concerning the baptizing of Hereticks: which is none other than a rehearsal of what was done and said in that Council; as things were taken by the publick Notaries, whereof he gives an account unto *Quirinus*. This piece shuts up the second Tome in *Pamelius* his Edition.

Eras. in
Annotat.

His

Annotom. 3.

His third Tome contains those books that are doubted of or falsely ascribed unto *Cyprian*: though in his preface *Pamelius* makes them to be of three sorts. First, Some, that by the stile and Scriptures cited, do certainly appear to be his genuine works: but how true this is, we shall hereafter examine. Secondly, Others, of which there is some doubt; yet are there many things to persuade us that they are his, or at least, of some Author, no less Ancient then he. 3. Some that are certainly found to be none of his. But though divers pieces have his name affixed unto them, that he was never the Author of; yet, saith *Erasmus*, herein was he more happy then some others, that nothing is ascribed unto him but what is Learned, and proceeded from great men.

In prefat.
ante opera
Cypr.

These are, first, his book of Spectacles; which, he shews 'tis unlawful for Christians to be present at and behold. A book, which neither *Iribemius* nor the *Centurists* nor *Erasmus* take notice of: and therefore not without cause suspected; which also the stile gives sufficient ground for. Herein the Author much imitates *Tertullian* upon the same subject.

Bellar. de
script. Eccle.
Rivet. Crit.
Sic.

2. Of Discipline, or the good of chastity; wherein many passages are almost *verbatim* taken out of *Tertullian*. *Bellarmino* and *Pamelius* conceive it to be *Cyprians*: 'Tis a work of an uncertain but Learned Author, so that 'twere pitty it should be lost; (saith *Erasmus*) yet in his judgement, the stile plainly shews it to be none of *Cyprians*.

Pamel. in
Annotat.
De script.
Eccles.

In Annotat.

3. Of the praise of Martyrdom, unto *Moses* and *Maximus*; wherein, *pennis eloquentiæ se mirificè extulit*. But the stile is so elaborate and unequal, that *Erasmus* suppo-
 leth no man is of so dull a scent, but he must needs perceive it to be far different from that of *Cyprian*. He thinks it therefore to be an Essay of some one that would exercise his pen; wherein he shewed more care then, wit, and more affectation then ability. Cardinal *Baronius* is very angry with him for this his censure, calling him *Mome*; telling us that he that will prudently compare it with the Apologetick unto *Demetrian*, or his Epistle unto *Donatus*, will easily perceive by the same lineaments of their faces, that they proceeded from the same Author. But the wit and wisdom of *Erasmus* (*dictator ille rei literariæ*) and his ingenuity in this kind are sufficiently known and approved of by the Learned. And as he was able, so was he no less diligent in comparing one thing with another, that he might the better give a right judgment: So that the cavil might well have been spared and deserves little to be regarded, as issuing rather from heat and interest, then from candid and impartial animadversion. The truth is, both the Cardinal and the Canon *Pamelius* looked on it as advantageous and making somewhat for their market; affording them a considerable authority for the Doctrines of Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints, who therefore strain hard and would fain perswade us that it is *Cyprians*; though they be *levissima argumenta*, very trivial and slender arguments, whereby

Baron. ad an. 255. § 38. Erasmus in Annotat.

Ad an. 255. § 37, 38.

Sphinx. c. 25.

Cocci censur.

Rivet. Crit. Sac.

whereby they endeavor to make it appear so to be.

4. Unto *Novatian* the Heretick: that hope of pardon ought not to be denied unto the *Lapsi*, such as fell in time of persecution: which, saith *Erasmus*, the stile will not suffer us to believe that it is *Cyprians*: But withal, it is so Eloquent and Learned, that he judgeth it not altogether unworthy of *Cyprian*; yet rather thinks, that *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome wrote it: which conjecture he grounds upon the words of *Jerom*; whom herein *Honorius Augustodunensis* follows and explains: saying, *Cornelius* wrote a very large Epistle unto *Novatian* and *Fabius*.

In Annotat.

In Margine.

In Catalog.
Cornelius.
De script.
Eccles.

5. Of the Cardinal or Principal works of Christ, unto his ascension unto the Father: which, besides the Preface, consisteth of twelve Chapters or Sermons:

1. Of the Nativity of Christ.
2. Of his Circumcision.
3. Of the Star and Wisemen.
4. Of the Baptism of Christ, and manifestation of the Trinity.
5. Of his Fasting and Temptations.
6. Of the Lords Supper, and first institution of the (Sacrament) consummating all Sacraments; wherein is comprehended the sense and consent of Orthodox Antiquity, and the Catholick Church concerning the Lords Supper.
7. Of washing the Disciples feet.
8. Of Anointing with Oyl and other Sacraments.
9. Of the passion of Christ.

Goulart.in
animadvers.

10. Of

10. Of his Resurrection.

11. Of his Ascension.

12. Of the Holy Ghost.

All these are urged as the authority of *Cyprian* by divers Romish Champions for the maintenance of many of their unsound Doctrines; though it be doubted of by themselves for sundry weighty reasons; among the rest these following,

Coci Censur.
James Ba-
stard's of the
Fathers.

1. The stile is lower than *Cyprian's* useth to be.

Bellar. de
script. Eccl.
Possevin. in
apparat.
Pamel. in ap-
parat. Pamel.
in annotat.
in prifat.

2. The Author (*in serm. de tentatione*) saith that the Devil fell from Heaven before the creation of man, contrary unto the opinion of *Cyprian*, in his Treatise *de telo & invidiâ*.

3. In the Preface he gives unto *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome, the Title of *sublimitas vestra*, your Highness: whereas *Cyprian* always stiles him brother and Colleague.

The stile, saith *Erasmus*, argues it to be none of *Cyprian's*, though it be the work of some learned man, whereof that age had store. *Non Cypriani quidem (inquit Casaubonus) sed non indignus Cypriano.* And *Bellarmin* himself elsewhere affirms, that the author of these Sermons, without doubt, lived long since *Cyprian*, yea, after the time of *Augustine*; and taxeth the boldness of him that first put *Cornelius* his name in the fore front of this Book. But in a very ancient Manuscript in the Library of *All-Souls* Colledge in *Oxford*, the Author is called *Arnaldus Bonavillacensis*, who lived in the time of *Bernard*, unto whom he hath written one or two Epistles; and the Book is dedicated, not unto

Exercitat.
16. § 29.
De amiss.
grat. lib. 6.
cap. 2.

James Ba-
stard's of the
Fathers.

Corne-

*Answ. to the
Jesuits chal-
lenge.*

*Arnaldus
Carnotensis
Abbas bonz
vallis.*

In Medull.

*Rivet.crit.
fac.*

*De script.
Eccles. in
annotat.*

*De script.
Eccles. in an-
notat.
Pamel. in ar-
gument.*

Cornelius, who lived about the year of Christ, 220. but unto *Adrian* the Fourth, who lived about the year, 1154. and succeeded *Eugenius* the Third, unto whom *Bernard* wrote his Book of Consideration. Also that Learned Antiquary the Reverend *Usher* saith, he hath seen besides the abovenamed, another Manuscript in the publick Library at *Oxford*, where in this Book bears the name of the said *Arnaldus*, as the author thereof. Taking it then for granted, that it is none of *Cyprian's*, let us give it its due in the words of *Scultetus*, It is a Book full of Religious Piety, and of great use to Preachers: for they are popular declamations which do breath affections stirred up by the spirit of God.

6. Of Dicers, which Game he proves by many arguments to be unworthy of a Christian, especially an Ecclesiastical man. But it certainly appears to be none of his by the stile, and seems to be written in the corrupter times of the Church. *Bellarmin* and *Pamelius* speak doubtfully of it; the former supposing it rather to be written by some one of the Bishops of *Rome*, as plainly appears from the Author's assuming unto himself the Presidentship of the universal Church, and to be Christ's Vicar, which indeed none ever dared to do, but that proud Prelate of *Rome*.

7. Of the Mountains *Sina* and *Sion*, against the Jews, being a mystical interpretation of them; the stile shews it to be none of his, as both *Bellarmin* and *Pamelius* confess, yea, it is altogether different both from the stile, and also the Genius of *Cyprian*, and is stuffed with such allegories and expositions of Scripture

Scripture as are far from the Learning, Piety and Simplicity of this Blessed Martyr.

8. As for those Poems, viz. *Genesis*, *Sodomus*, & *ad Senatorem*, *Pamelius* hath adjudged them rather unto *Tertullian*, because of the stile, and because *Cyprian* was never ranked among the Christian Poets, but only by *Fabricius* (he might have added *Gyraldus*) so that he leaves the matter doubtful: And, saith *Bellarmin*, we have no certain ground whence to conclude it, So also for the Hymn *de Pascha*, in many Manuscripts it is ascribed unto *Victorinus Pitaviensis*: But, saith *Bellarmin* of them, *Opera sunt gravia & docta, & S. Cypriano digna*. To which I add the Verses *de Sanctæ Crucis ligno*, which *Lilius Gyraldus* ascribes unto *Cyprian*, being sixty nine Heroicks in number, *Quos, inquit, ego legi: & si semel legatis, iterum & sæpe legetis*. But as I find them no where else mentioned as *Cyprian's*; so I conceive *Pamelius* would not have failed to rank them among the rest, had he seen but the least probability why he might have eutituled them unto *Cyprian*.

Pamel. in
Tertull.

De scriptis
Eccles.

Rivet. crit.
sic.
De scriptis
Eccles.
De Poet.
Hæc.

9. Those two Prayers, one for the Martyrs, the other made use of by himself (as is pretended) on the day of his suffering, have the like censure from *Bellarmino* that the Poets had, who leaves them altogether uncertain.

De scriptis
Eccles.

10. Of the single life of the Clergy, and that they ought to abstain from the company of women. The work is not *Cyprian's* (as the many barbarous words to be found in it, and the phrase do plainly shew) as *Erasmus* connects, to whose censure *Pamelius* sub-

In annotat.
In præfat.
ante Tom. 3.
operum
Cypr. & in
annotat.

scribes, who thinks it rather to be *Origen's*, being induced hereunto by some authorities, (*Vincentius Bellovacensis in seculo Hist. lib. 11. cap. 15.* mentions a Book of *Origen's*, which he calls *Liber pulcherrimus de singularitate clericorum*. Also *Laxiardus Celestinus in Epitom. Hist. universal. hac habet: fertur Originem codicem de singularitate clericorum composuisse*) by his mentioning without dislike those who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of God, and by divers Grecisms here and there to be found in it. But, saith *Bellarmino* the stile is against this, which shews it to be the work not of a Greek but some Latine Author. *Baronius* supposeth it to be *Cyprian's*, though upon weak and slender grounds, as *Rivet* shews. *Liber de singularitate Clericorum, Originem, Cyprianum, Augustinum praefert autores.* It is therefore very uncertain whose it is; But, saith *Erasmus*, whoever were the author of it, it cannot be denyed that he was a learned and eloquent man: And without doubt, saith *Bellarmino*, very ancient.

11. An exposition of the Apostles Creed, which (though it be inserted among the works of *Cyprian*) yet is it generally conceived to belong unto *Ruffinus* a Presbyter of *Aquileia*, as appears both by the phrase, and also by the authority of *Gennadius*, who stileth him not the least part of the Doctors of the Church, and of an elegant wit to translate out of Greek into Latine: And, saith he, in this exposition, he through the Grace of God so far excelled, that others in comparison of of him can scarce be said to have expounded it. *Pamelius* therefore entitles it unto *Ruffine*, as

Ad an. 253.
§ 45.
crit. sac.
Prideaux. in
oraz. de
Pseudepi-
graph.
In annotat.

De script.
Eccles.

Bellarmino. de
script.
In catalog.

S. ultet. in
Medull.
Rivet. crit.
loc.

as the true author thereof, and not *Cyprian*; whose, that 'tis not, it's evident from the mention therein made of the Heresies of *Arius*, the Manichees, *Samosatenus*, *Eunomius*, who all lived after the time of *Cyprian*. Yet by the consent of all it is a learned piece, and most worthy to be read; but herein blamed by *Pamelius*, because it denies the Books of Wisdom, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith* and the Maccabees to be of authority for the confirmation of the faith; but for what cause is obvious enough.

In annotat.

12. Of the incredulity of the Jews, unto *Vigilius*: it is none of *Cyprians*, but rather the preface of one *Celsus* upon the altercation between one *Jason* a Christian, and *Paviscus* a Jew of *Alexandria*: and indeed in the close of it, the author so styles himself: *In mente, inquit, jam habe puerum tuum Celsum*. A confused piece it is, no way suitable unto the piety or learning of *Cyprian*.

Pamel. in argument.
Bellar. de script. Eccles.

Goulart. in annotat.

Pamel. in argument.
Bellar. de script.

13. Against the Jews who persecuted our Lord Jesus Christ, written by an uncertain author, the stile discovering it not to be *Cyprian's*.

Pamel. in argument.
Eras. in annotat.
Helvic. chron.

14. Of the Revelation of the head of *John* the Baptist, and the translation of it into *France* under *Pipin* the Son of *Charles Martell*, who lived about the year 750. by which it appears as clear as the Sun to be none of *Cyprian's*, who was some hundreds of years before this time: and they are meer fables that are contained in it, it might well come out of the Cell of some superstitious Monk, being fabulous, superstitious and ridiculous.

Sculter. in Medull.
Ri. et. crit. fac.

Bellar. de script. Eccles.

15. Of a twofold Martyrdom unto *Forster*; it is to seek of a Father; for *Cyprian's*

Rivet. crit. fac.
Coci consuet.

In argumen.

Rivet. crit.
fac.Trithem. de
script.

Cocf censur.

Goulart. in
annotat.
Pamel. in ar-
gument.Epist. 48.
Nec omnino
nihil habet
Africum Cy-
prius. E-
rasm. in E-
pist. ante o-
pera Hilarii.
In præfat.
ante opera
Cypr.

an's it is not, as the mention of *Dioclesian*, and of the Emperour's war against the Turk, do fully evidence. *Pamelius* thinks it to be the work of some Neoterick, and not unlikely (as *Henry Grave* conjectures) of *Erasmus*: But this is very improbable, considering how sharp *Erasmus* is against those, who by counterfeiting their writings, have so abused the Fathers: and if he would in this kind have imposed upon the world, surely he was not so weak to let fall such passages as should so palpably discover it to be an imposture and supposititious; we leave it therefore as an exposed Birth.

16. Of the twelve abuses of the world: the phrase is not *Cyprian's*, and the quotation of the Scriptures according to *Jerom's* Translation speaks it of a later date. *Erasmus* is of the mind that it came from some honest Laick: and *Pamelius* guesseth it to have been written by one *Ebrardus*, or *Johannes Climacus*.

17. A small Tract entituled *Cana*: so unworthy the name of *Cyprian*, that it deserves rather to bear that of a Turk than a Christian, it is so impure and ridiculous; the author seemeth to have been an Italian, some profane knave, being so well acquainted with all sorts of that Country Wine.

§ 4. His stile is such as hath a certain proper and peculiar face whereby it may be known: saith *Augustin*, It tangs of his Country, but yet is he more plain and candid than the rest of the Africans: And I wish, saith *Erasmus*, that as *Augustin* did exceed him in the number of the Volumes which he wrote,

So that he had attained unto, and equalled him in the elegancy of his language: Oh would he had as happily emulated his tongue, as he ingenuously admires it! *Tertuliano*, inquit *Ludovicus Vives*, loquitur clarius, sed ipse nonnunquam *Afric.* Time was, saith *Erasmus*, when I accounted *Jerom* for the chief among the Orthodox Writers; but when I looked a little more narrowly into *Cyprian*, I was doubtful whether of the two to prefer, they both seemed to excel: but if a true and natural kind of speaking, and that which is more remote from a declamatory shadow, deserve the precedence; herein *Cyprian* went as far beyond *Jerom*, as *Demosthenes* beyond *Cicero*; he is every where more serious, and hath less of affectation; his habit or form of speech is such that you may perceive him to be a true Christian Bishop, and destined unto Martyrdom: his heart burns with Evangelical Piety, and his words are answerable; (*Non minus fortiter quam disertè loquens*) he speaks no less strongly than eloquently; for worthyness became him more than neatness; yet is he quick enough sometimes; as where he derides a certain Heretick that denied him to be a Bishop: and likewise when he refutes those who deemed such not meet to be called Christians, but Clinicks, that in perilous diseases were baptized not only by immersion, but aspersion or sprinkling of water. For here besides that perpetual sweetness, which as blood runs through the whole Body, he useth quips and jests. Again, *Africa* sent forth many men famous for eloquence and learning; among

Detrad. di-
scipl. lib. 3:
Ibid.

Erasm. in E-
pist. ante o-
pera Chry-
sostom,

Hieronym.
Epist. 13. ad
Paulinum.

Lib. 5. cap. 1.
Instituta

In Hymn. de
pass. Cypr.

whom *Tertulian* and *Augustin* were chief; but scarcely unto any one happened the genuine purity of the Roman Language, but only unto *Cyprian*. Thus *Erasmus*, Like a pure fountain he flows sweetly and smoothly; and withal he is so plain and open (which is the chief virtue of speech) that you cannot discern, saith *Lactantius*, whether any one were more comly in speaking, or more facil in explicating, or more powerful in perswading. *Prudentius* also in this regard thus extols him :

*O nive candidius linguae genus ! O novum saporem !
Ut liquor Ambrosius cor mitigat, imbuat palatum,
Sedem animae penetrat, mentem fovet, & pererrat artus ?*

Biblioth.
sanct. lib. 4.
Bocyclop.
Hist.

De trad. disciplin. lib. 3.

His phrase is most elegant (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) and next unto Ciceronian Candour. And in the judgment of *Asted*, as *Lactantius* may be truly accounted the Christian's *Cicero*; so may *Cyprian* their *Cesar*; for these two among the Latines added ornament unto Christian Doctrine. Now *Cesar*, saith *Vives*, is egregiously useful for dayly speech, unto whom *Tully* gives the praise of a pure and uncorrupted dialect : *Quintilian* of elegance, whom he peculiarly studyed : and Mr. *Ascham* in that learned and grave discourse which he calls his Schoolmaster, judgeth that in *Cesar's* Commentaries (which are to be read with all curiosity) without all exception to be made either by friend or foe,

foe, is seen the unspotted propriety of the Latine Tongue, even when it was in ἀκμῇ, at the highest pitch of all perfectness: yet is his phrased various: sometimes he soars aloft, and is very copious with abundance of words: as in his Epistle unto *Donatus*: another time he falls as low, as in his Epistle unto *Cacilius*, of the Sacrament of the Lord's Cup: but most commonly he is temperate, and keeps the middle way between these extremes, as in his Treatise of the Habit of Virgins. In a word, he was, saith *Hyperius*, plain, vehement, serious, and not unhappily fluent; his words breathing a venerable elegancy, as the things which he wrote did piety and martyrdom: whereof I now proceed to give a taste.

Baron. adan.
255. § 37.
August. de
doct. Christ.
lib. 4. cap. 21.

De stud.
Theolog.

Scultet. in
Medull.

§ 5. In his Treatise of the vanity of Idols, § 6, 7, 8. we have a sum of his Faith, which *Froben* in his Index affixed unto the edition of *Erasmus*, styles the most elegant Creed or Symbol of *Cyprian*: containing the Doctrines of Christ, his Deity, Incarnation, Miracles, Death, Resurrection, Ascension and second coming. His words are these,

Indulgentia Dei, gratia, disciplineque arbitri & magister sermo & filius Dei mittitur, qui per Prophetas omnes retrò illuminator & doctor humani generis predicabatur. Hic est virtus Dei, hic ratio, hic sapientia ejus & gloria, hic in Virginem illabatur: carnem, Spiritu Sancto cooperante, induitur; Deus cum homine miscetur; hic Deus noster, hic Christus est, qui mediator duorum, hominem induit, quem perducas ad Patrem; quod homo est, Christus esse voluit, ut & homo possit esse quod Christus est—— Cum

Christus Jesus secundum a Prophetis ante predicta, verbo & vocis imperio demonia de hominibus excuteret, leprosos purgaret, illuminaret cecos, claudis gressum daret, mortuos rursus animaret, cogeret sibi elementa famulari, servire ventos, maria obedire, inferos cedere; Judei qui illum crediderant hominem tantum, de humilitate carnis & corporis; existimabant magnum de licentia potestatis. Hunc Magistri eorum atque primores, hoc est, quos & doctrina illa ille & sapientia revincebat, accensi ira & indignatione provocati, postremo detentum Pontia Pilato, qui tunc ex parte Romanâ Syriam procurabat, tradiderunt, crucem ejus & mortem suffragii violentis ac pertinacibus flagitantes — Crucifixus, preventivo carnis officio, spiritum sponte dimisit, & die tertio rursus a mortuis sponte surrexit. Apparuit discipulis talis ut fuerat, agnoscendum se videntibus præbuit, simul junctus & substantie corporalis firmitate conspicuus ad dies quadraginta remoratus est, ut de vel ab eo ad præcepta vitalia instrui possent, & discerent quæ docerent. Tunc in Cælum circumfusa nube sublatus est, ut hominem quem dilexit, quem induit, quem a morte protexit, ad patrem viscerum imponeret; jam venturos & è Cælo ad panem Diaboli, & ad censuram generis humani, ultoris vigore, & judicis potestate.

§ 30.

2. Concerning the Article of Christ's descent into Hell, the Author of the Exposition of the Apostles Creed, thus speaks, We are, saith he, verily to know that it is not to be found in the Creed of the Roman Church, neither in the Oriental Churches; yet the force of the words seemeth to be the same with those wherein he is said to be buried.

3. Of

3. Of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, the same Author of the Exposition of the Apostles Creed, having enumerated the same Books that we do: These, saith he, are they which the Fathers concluded within the Canon, out of which they would have the assertions of our Faith to consist: But we are to know further, that there are other Books which our Predecessors called not Canonical, but Ecclesiastical, as the Books of Wisdom, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Toby*, *Judith* and *Maccabees*, all which they would indeed have to be read in the Churches, but yet not to be produced for the confirmation of the Faith.

4. Of how little esteem custom ought to be, if not founded upon truth, he pithily shews in that short sentence; *Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est: Custom without truth is but mouldy error.* In vain therefore, saith he, do some that are overcome by reason, oppose or object custom unto us, as if custom were greater than truth; or that in Spirituals were not to be followed, which for the better hath been revealed by the Holy Ghost. Again, if Christ alone must be heard, as *Matth. 17. 5.* we ought not to heed what another before us thought fit to be done, but what Christ, who is before all, first did. Neither ought we to follow the custom of man, but the truth of God.

5. He understands by Tradition, nothing but that which is delivered in the Scripture: Let nothing be innovated, saith Stephen unto him, but what is delivered. He replyeth, whence is this Tradition? whether doth it descend

§ 12.
Epist. 74.
Pompilio.

Epist. 53. §
11 ad Jubai-
anum.

Epist. 61. §
11. Caelio.

Epist. 74. §
2. Pompilio.

descend from the authority of the Lord, and the Gospel, or doth it come from the Apostles Commands and Epistles : for those things are to be done, that are Written : — If therefore 'this (speaking of the Rebaptization of Hereticks, or receiving them into the Church only by imposition of hands, which later was *Stephens* opinion against *Cyprian*) be either commanded in the Evangelists, or contained in the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, let it be observed as a Divine and Holy Tradition.

Epist. 59. §
4. ad Fidum.

6. That the Baptism of children was then received and practised in the Church ; and that performed by aspersion, as valid as that by immersion. This, saith he, was our sentence in the Council, that none ought by us to be kept back from baptism, and the grace of God , who is merciful unto all. Now seeing this ought to be retained and observed toward all, then we think it is much more to be observed about even Infants and such as are newly born. — Neither ought it to move any one that the sick are sprinkled or have water poured on them, seeing they obtain grace of the Lord. — it appears therefore that sprinkling also obtains even as the Salutory Laver : and when these things are done in the Church, where the faith both of the giver and receiver is sound, all things may stand, be consummated and perfected, with or by the Majesty of the Lord and truth of Faith. Concerning which opinion of his *Augustine* thus speaks ; *Beatus Cyprianus non aliquod decretum condens novum, sed Ecclesie fidem firmissimam servans, ad corrigendum eos*
qui

Epist. 28.
Hieronymo.

qui putabant ante octavum diem nativitatis non esse parvulum baptizandum, non carnem, sed animam dixit non esse perdendam & mox natum rite baptizari posse, cum suis quibusdam cœpiscopis censuit.

7. That Devils were cast out in his time. Be ashamed (saith he unto *Demetrian*) to worship those Gods, whom thou thy self must defend. — Oh, that thou wouldst but hear and see them, when they are adjured by us, and tortured with Spiritual scourges, and by the torments of words are cast out of possessed bodies, when wailing and groaning with humane voice and by Divine Power feeling whips and stripes, they confess the judgment to come. Come and know the things we say to be true — thou shalt see us to be intreated by them whom thou intreatest, to be feared by those whom thou adorest: thou shalt see them stand bound under our hand, and being captives to tremble whom thou dost honor and reverence as Lords. Certainly even thus maist thou be confounded in these thine errors, when thou shalt behold and hear thy gods at our demand forthwith to bewray what they are, and although you be present, not to be able to conceal their sleights and fallacies.

§ 12. itē. de
vanit. idol.
§ 4.

8. The various operations of the three persons in the Trinity, are thus elegantly described in the book of the Cardinal works of Christ. In this School of Divine Mastership, it is the Father that doth teach and instruct; the Son that doth reveal and open the hidden things of God; the holy Spirit that doth replenish

Tract. de
bapt. Christi.
§ 6.

replenish and endue us. From the Father we receive Power from the Son Wisdom, from the holy Spirit Innocence. By the Father is given us eternity, by the Son conformity unto his image; by the holy Spirit integrity and liberty; In the Father we are, in the Son we live, in the holy Spirit we move and go forward.

Traſt. de
orat. Dom.
§ 22.

9. Of inadvertency in Prayer; what slothfulness is it, saith he, to be alienated and drawn away with foolish and profane thoughts, when thou art praying unto the Lord? as if there were some other things that thou oughtest to think on, then that thou art speaking with God. How dost thou desire to be heard of God, when thou hearest not thy self? wilt thou have the Lord to be mindful of thee when thou prayest seeing thou art not mindful of thy self? this is, not wholly to beware of the enemy; this is, when thou prayest unto God, to offend with the negligence of prayer the Majesty of God; this is, to watch with the eyes, and sleep with the heart; whereas a Christian ought, even when he sleeps with his eyes, to have his heart waking.

Traſt. de
eleemoſyn.
§ 19, 20.

10. He doth most Rhetorically upbraid the slothfulness and sterility of the Lords people, by bringing in Sathan with his sons of perdition, thus speaking; I, for those, O Christ whom thou seeſt with me, have neither received blows, nor sustained stripes, nor born the cross, nor redeemed my family with the price of my passion and death; neither do I promise them the Kingdom of heaven, nor restoring unto them immortality do I call them

them back again to Paradise: And yet they prepare me gifts very precious, great and gotten with too much and long labor, &c. Shew me, O Christ, any of thine, admonished by thy precepts, and that shall receive for earthly heavenly things, who bring thee such gifts: — By these My terrene and fading gifts (he means the Ethnick Spectacles) no man is fed, none clothed, none sustained by the comfort of any meat or drink; all perish in the prodigal and foolish vanity of deceiving pleasures, between the madness of him that sets them forth, and the error of the beholders, — thou promist eternal life to those that work, and yet unto mine that perish, thine are scarce equal, who are honored by thee with Divine and Celestial rewards. Oh, my dear brethren, what shall we answer unto these things?

11. Of Admission into the Church, thus. We (saith he) that must render an account unto the Lord, do anxiously weigh and solicitously examine; those who are to be received and admitted into the Church: For some there are, whose crimes do so stand in the way, or whom the brethren do so stiffly and firmly oppose, that they cannot at all be received without the scandal and danger of many. For neither are some rotten shells so to be gathered, as that those who are whole and sound should be wounded; nor is he a profitable and advised Pastor who so mingles diseased and infected sheep with the flock, as to contaminate the whole flock by the afflictation (*afflictatione*) of evil cohering: Oh, if you could (dear brother) be present here

Epist. ad
Cornel. 55.
§ 17.

here with us when these crooked and perverse ones return from schism, you should see what ado I have to perswade our brethren to patience, that laying asleep or suppressing the grief of their mind, they would consent unto the receiving and curing of those evil ones. For as they rejoyce and are glad, when such as are tolerable and less culpable do return; so on the other side they murmur and strive, as often as such as are incorrigible and forward, and defiled either with adulteries or sacrifices (and after these things yet over and above proved) do so return unto the Church, that they corrupt good dispositions within: I scarce perswade, yet extort from the common sort, to suffer such to be admitted: and the grief of the fraternity is made the more just, because that one or other of those (who though the people did withstand and contradict, yet were through my facility received) became worse then they were before, nor could keep the promise of repentance, because they came not with true repentance.

Epist. 68. § 6

12. That the people had at that time a voice in the election of their Bishop or Pastor, even in *Rome* it self plainly appears in the case of *Cornelius* so chosen; yea that it was the use every where, is evident, by these words of his: That (saith he) is to be held and observed diligently from Divine Tradition and Apostolical observation, which is held with us also, and almost through all provinces; that to the right celebrating of ordinations, the Bishops of the same province next unto that people over whom the Chief Officer

Officer is ordained, do convene or meet together; and that the Bishop be chosen in the presence of the people, who most fully know the life and conversation of every one.

Again, the people obeying the Lords Commands and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a sinful overseer, nor to mingle themselves with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest; seeing they chiefly have the power either of choosing such as are worthy, or refusing the unworthy. Which very thing we see to descend from Divine Authority.

And else where, speaking of Cornelius, and of his great modesty and humility when called unto the Office of a Bishop; he hath these words worth our notice; *Non, inquit,*

Epist. 52.
Anton. 9, 41

ut quidam vim fecit ut Episcopus fieret; sed ipse vim passus est, ut Episcopatum coactus exiperet. Et factus est Episcopus à plurimis collegi nostris, qui tunc in urbe Româ aderant, qui ad nos literas honorificas, & laudabiles, & testimonio sue predicationis illustres, de ejus ordinatione miserunt. Factus est autem Cornelius Episcopus de Dei & Christi ejus judicio, de Clericorum penè omnium testimonio, de plebi, qua tunc affuit, suffragio, & de sacerdotum antiquorum & bonorum virorum collegio.

13. Of the interest of the people in the management of the affairs of the Church, thus he. I determined, saith he, from the very beginning of my Bishoprick, to do nothing by my private sentence, without your counsel, and the consent of my people: but when, by the grace of God, I shall come unto you, we will then handle in common those

Epist. 6. § 5.
ad Presbyteros & Diaconos.

Ep. 14. § 2.

those things which either have been done; or are to be done, as mutual honor requires. Again, to the same purpose: This agreeth with the modesty, and discipline, and the very life of us all, that (many Bishops meeting together in one, the people also being present, unto whom even unto them honor is to be given for their faith and fear.) We should dispose of all things with the Religious care of Common Counsel.

Epist. ad Papiam. 69.
§ 4.

An Exposition
hereof,
See in the
Hist. of the
Council of
Trent, l. 3.

14. Of the Original and rise of Heresies, thus; Thence Schisms and Heresies have, and do arise, when the Bishop (who is one and set over the Church) is by the proud presumption of some contemned, and, a man honored with the dignity of God, is by men judged unworthy. By one Bishop, that he means one Bishoply Office (*unus Episcopatus*) appertaining alike unto all rightly called thereunto, appears from. *Epist. ad Antonianum. 55. §. 16. & tract. de unitate Ecclesie. §. 4.*

§ 6. These and many the like excellent passages are to be found in the writings of this eminent Father; Yet was not the beautiful face even of this man without its blemishes; though they were fewer then are to be observed in most of the Ancients; and, those that were, for the most part so small, that they may not unfitly be called rather freckles and morpew that do detract but little from his great worth. Such as were some hard expressions that fell from his pen; either through in advertency and want of caution; or because they were in those times common-
ly

ly made use of, perhaps harmlesly then, but abused in after ages by those, who (to palliate their errors with a shew and pretence of Antiquity) strained them higher, and wrested them to another sense, then the innocent Authors intended in them.

Of this kind are the following instances.

1. Concerning free-will; which in divers places he seems to assert: he some other where seemingly crossing himself, speaks the contrary. e. g. God, saith he, remunerates with the reward of paternal piety, whatsoever he himself hath performed, and honors that which he himself hath wrought in us. Again, 'tis of God, I say, 'tis of God, (saith he) all that we can: thence we live, thence we have our strength.

Ep. ad Cor.
nell. 55. § 8
Test. ad
Quirin. l. 3.
§ 53.
Ep. 77. § 5.

Ep. 1. § 2.

2. He ascribes too much unto good works, particularly unto alms; by which, he saith, the defilement contracted after baptism, is washed away; but that the sins preceding conversion are purged by the blood of Christ. Which yet he may be conceived to have uttered in a declamatory way: and is to be understood here (and throughout this whole treatise) of works as conjoyned with or accompanying Faith.

Tract. de
Elemosyn.
§ 1.

Goulart. in
notis. n. 3.

3. He attributes remission of sins to our satisfaction, wherewith, saith he, God is to be appeased: but of this a tolerable interpretation may be made, the word satisfaction being Catachrestically taken, for the repentance and confession of the *Lapsi*, wherewith the Church was satisfied, whereupon they were
X again

Tract. de
lapis. § 144

Goulart. in
notis. n. 67.

Chemnit.
examen.
part. secund.
cap. 10.

again admitted unto communion. And that they might the more commend unto men those Ecclesiastical Rites; the Ancients by little and little in their exhortations unto the people, began to speak hyperbolically of them, as, that pardon of sin and reconciliation were this way obtained: upon which ground, those passages of satisfaction and alms, fell inconsiderately (saith *Chemnitius*) from the pen of *Cyprian*.

Epist. 63.

Chemnit. in
exam. part.
secund. c. 9.

4. He too eagerly and even superstitiously urgeth the mixture of water with wine in the Eucharist, because water and blood came out of the side of Christ; True it is, that in the primitive times, the custom was in many Churches (that they might Celebrate the Lords Supper with the greater sobriety) to temper the wine with water: at length some went so far (so did the *Aquarii*, who had thence their name, *quod aquam offerunt in poculo Sacramenti*) as to make use of water only, whom here *Cyprian* justly reprehends; though yet he urgeth the mixture of both too vehemently and upon too slender grounds. Had he left it as a thing indifferent and not pressed it as necessary (for which *Chemnitius* justly blames the Council of *Trent*) it needed not to have been ranked among his errors.

August. de
hzeres. c. 64.

Ubi sup. 3.

Tract. de
lapis § 20.

5. He seems to allow of the admission of Infants or those not come to years of discretion, unto the Lords Supper; (its like to have been the common error of that time) as appears by the story he relates of a young Girl, who had been partaker of the Idol Sacrifices: Afterward coming with her mother

mother unto the Christian Assembly, *puella mixta cum sanctis* (to give you his own words) *precis nostra & orationis impatiens, nunc ploratu concuti, nunc mentis astu caput fluctuabunda jactari, & velut tortore cogente, quibus poterat indicis, conscientiam facti in simplicibus adhuc annis* (facinus enim commissum tam loqui & indicare non potuit, quam nec intelligere prius potuit, nec arcere) *rudis anima fatebatur. Ubi verò solennibus adimpletis, calicem diaconus offerre presentibus caput, & accipientibus cæteris locus ejus advenit; faciem suam parvula instinctu Divina Majestatis avertere, os labiis obturantibus premere, calicem recensare. Perstitit tamen Diaconus, & relucenti licet, de Sacramento calicis infudit. Tunc sequitur singulus & vomitus. In corpore & ore violato Eucharistia permanere non potuit. Sanctificatus in domini sanguine potus, & de poluita visceribus erupit; tanta est potestas Domini, tanta Majestas. The necessity of this and the other Sacrament he seems to conclude from. *John 3. 5. Except a man be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God; And, John 6. 53. Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.**

Ad Quirin.
l. 3. § 25.

6. But the greatest error to be noted in him, (which yet, oh how small, in comparison of some in many other of the ancients) was that about rebaptization, by *Cbemonitus* too harshly called a fundamental error: *Hæc inquit, errorem in fundamento.* His

In orat. de
lect. patrum
ante loc.
com.

Bin. Tom. i.
concil.

judgment was this, that those who having been baptized by Hereticks, did forsake their Heresies, and return unto the Church, were to be received by Baptism. In this opinion many Bishops, not of *Africa* only, but of *Afia* also, consented with him: about which, there having been three Councils convened at *Carthage*; in the third (wherein *Cyprian* was President) it was agreed in the affirmative, upon this ground chiefly, because they thought the Baptism of Hereticks to be a nullity.

Epist. ad
Pompeium
contra
Steph. Epist.
74. § 1.

Bin. concil.
tom. i. can.
19.

Hieronym.
advers. Lu-
cifer. dialog.
August. de
Heres. cap.
44.

Great was the contest between the African and Western Churches about this controversy: these latter holding with the Bishop of *Rome*, that Hereticks returning unto the Church, were to be received only by prayer and imposition of hands: wherein they are to be conceived no less erroneous than the former; for that they allowed the Baptism of all sorts of Hereticks, without making any distinction between them: whereas, not long after in the Council of *Nice*, if any one fled unto the Catholick Church from the *Paulianists* (meaning the *Samosatenians*, called by either name from the Author *Paulus Samosatenus*) and *Cataphrygians*, it is ordained or decreed that they ought altogether to be rebaptized. The reason was, because these Hereticks holding Christ to be none other than a meer man, they baptized not in the name of Christ; and so the substance and true form of Baptism not being retained by them, it was adjudged to be no Baptism. And indeed whoever is baptized by such an Heretick as openly denies the Holy Trinity, ought to be

be rebaptized: so that it was the error of *Stephen*, and those who joyned with him, that they excepted not such Hereticks as these; as *Cyprian* erred in excepting none.

Orian. Epist.
cent. 3. l. b. 3.
cap. 13.

But *Stephen*, though he were little less erroneous than *Cyprian* herein, yet did he differ much in his disposition and carriage: for according unto his hot and cholerick temper, he declared publickly against *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia* (of *Cyprian's* opinion) and excommunicated all those that dissented from himself. Contrariwise, *Cyprian* discovering herein the mildness of his spirit, thus bespeaks his colleagues in the Council of *Carthage*: (*Jerom* in commendation of him, cites two passages of his to the same purpose, the one *ex Epistolâ ad Stephanum Episcopum Romanum*; the other *ex Epistolâ ad Iubaianum*: In the former his words are these, *Quâ in re, inquit, nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus; cum habeat in Ecclesiâ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque prepositus, rationem alicui sui Domino redditurus.*) It remains, saith he, that we produce what each of us thinks concerning this thing, judging no man, or removing any of another judgment from the right of Communion: for none of us makes himself a Bishop of Bishops, or with tyrannical terrour drives his colleagues to a necessity of obeying: seeing every Bishop hath a proper judgment, according unto his own liberty and power; as, who cannot be judged by another, seeing that he himself cannot judge another. But we all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only and alone

Epist. Firmilian.
ad Cyprian.
75. § 21.

Advers. Luciferian.

Bern. Tom. 1.
concil.

See de Bapt.
contra Do-
natist. lib. 5.
cap. 17.

Ibid. lib. cap.
18.

hath power of preferring us in the Govern-
ment of his Church, and of judging our acti-
ons. Oh how much is *Augustin* taken and
delighted with the peaceableness, charity and
moderation of *Cyprian* herein, for which he
greatly admires and commends him. And,
saith he, the Lord therefore did not discover
this truth unto him, that his pious humility
and charity in wholsomly keeping the peace
of the Church, might be the more open and
manifest, and taken notice of as a remedy,
not only by the Christians of that time, but
also by posterity, &c.

Ibid lib. 2.
cap. 4.
E lib. 4. cap.
5.

Epist. 48.

Moreover, let me add (as making much
to his praise) that he was not obdurate in his
error; for as he was learned and skilful to
teach others, so was he also docil and patient
to learn of others: which I doubt not, saith
Augustin he would have demonstrated, had he
discussed this question with holy and learned
men. Yea, saith he, perhaps he did correct
his error, but we know it not: for neither
could all things, which at that time were
done among the Bishops, be committed to
memory and writing; nor do we know all
things that were so committed. Again, we
do not find, saith he, that he corrected his
error; yet may we imagine not incongru-
ously of such a man, that he did correct it,
and that it was perhaps suppressed by those
who were too much delighted with this er-
ror, and were unwilling to want so great a
patronage. And this hath been by some so far
charitably believed, that they have plainly af-
firmed so much, that he did, being convinced
by the Orthodox, renounce his error herein:

so

so Bede, quoted by *Pamelius*, *Supplement*, *Bergomens. Platina in vitâ Lucii: Scaliger in Elench. Tribaresii Nicolai Serari, cap. 31.* And *Baronius*, who tells us that none can justly doubt of it, seeing both the Eastern and Western Churches have always used to celebrate the Birth Day of the Martyr *Cyprian*. Briefly, either he was not, saith *Augustin*, of the opinion that you the (Donatists) report him to have been of, or he afterward corrected by the rule of truth, or else he covered this (*quasi navum*) spot as it were of his white Breast, with the pap or veil of charity; while he most copiously defended the unity of the Church increating through the whole world, and most perseveringly detain'd the bond of peace.

In vitâ Cyprian.

Ad an. 253. § 51.

Epist. 48.

Ubi:z: velo
saith Doctor
Gaude. in
his Suspiria
Eccles. An-
glican. lib. 3.
c 13.

§ 7. As touching his Martyrdom, it is recorded, that upon his first entrance into *Curubis* (the place of his banishment) it was revealed unto him in a Vision (whereof he had divers, and attributed much unto them) that upon that same day in the year following he should be consummate and crowned; which accordingly fell out: For being by *Galerius Maximus* (who succeeded *Paternus* in the Proconsulship) recalled from his banishment, he according unto the Imperial Edict, abode a while in his own Garden; from whence, being certified that certain Officers were sent to bring him unto *Utica* (a famous Town not far from *Carthage*) he withdrew for certain days, by the perswasion of his dearest Friends, unto whom herein he consented, and, as himself saith, not with-

Pontius in
vitâ Cypr.

Epist. 69. §
8.
Pamel. in vi-
tâ ejus.

Paul. Dia-
con. in pass.
Cyprian.
Pamel. in vi-
tâ ejus

Epist. 83. § 1.

out just cause; for that it is meet a Bishop should in that City wherein he is set over the Lord's Church, there confess the Lord, and so make the whole people famous by the confession of their present Overseer: for whatsoever in that moment of Confession, the Confessour Bishop speaketh, God inspiring him, he speaks with the mouth of all. If it should be otherwise, the honour of our so glorious a Church shall be maimed, &c. Here therefore lying hid, we expect the coming of the Proconsul, saith he, returning unto *Carthage*, that we may hear what the Emperour shall command, and speak what the Lord shall give in that hour: Accordingly there came suddenly (upon the Ides of *September*) two Apparitours to bring him before the new Proconsul *Galerius*; but being put off till the next day (the Lord so willing that he might dispose of the affairs of the Church) he was brought then into the Court of Judgment, where he received this sentence, that having been the Standard bearer of his Sect, and an Enemy of the gods, and one that would still be an example unto his own, refusing to offer sacrifice, It is my pleasure, saith *Galerius*, that he be beheaded. Which Sentence being passed, he was led away unto a certain place called *Sexti*, about four miles (six saith *Baronius*) from the City, a great multitude following him, and crying, Let us die together with the Holy Bishop. Being come unto the place, he submitted himself unto the stroke of the Sword, by which his Head being severed from his Body, he changed this frail for an eternal life, being the first of

Pamel. in vi.
22.

Pontius in
vita ejus.
Paul. Dis-
con. in pas-
sion. Cypr.

Adan. 161.
§ 22.

the Bishops of *Carthage* that sealed the truth with his blood. He suffered under the Emperours *Valerian* and *Galerius*, anno Christi, 259. Pamel. in vi. 12.

The Carthaginians did so highly honour, and had him in such veneration, that they erected unto him a most magnificent Temple, and kept a yearly Festival in memory of him, which from his name they call *Cypriana*: as Mariners do also a certain storm that usually falls out about the same time. Niceph. lib. 17. cap. 12.

Lactantius.

Lactantius.

Sculptet. in
Medull.
cent. 4. cap.
10.

Ad an. 302.
§ 61. in ap-
parat.
Magnin. in
Geograph.
in Ital. num.
15.
Heylin. Geo-
graph.

Winpeling.
in Epitom.
rer. German.
cap. 10.

Hieronym.
in catalog.

§ 1. **L**Ucius *Calius* was his name, unto which his eloquence gained him the addition of *Lactantius*, from his milky and smooth kind of speaking: as his Country that of *Firmianus*, being an Italian by Birth, (not an African, as *Baronius* and *Possesine* imagine, because he was the Scholar of *Arnobius* that was so) of the Province called *Picenum* of old, but afterward by the *Lombards*, *Marchia Anconitana*, from the chief Town therein, *Ancona*: as also *Marchia Firmiana*, from the strong Town *Firmium*, heretofore the Head City of the *Piceni*, which Country is a part of the Land of the Church under the Government of the Popes of *Rome*. Some do contend that he was of the German Race; and that at this day there is a Family not obscure among the Germans, which, bearing the name of the *Firmiani*, do boast themselves to be the posterity of *Lactantius*: but the general consent of Authors shews this to be but a vain conceit.

He was at first the Scholar of *Arnobius*, Professour of Rhetorick at *Sicca* in *Africa*; as also some time at *Rome*, where *Lactantius* heard him, and profited much in the study of eloquence; who also instructed him in the Christian

Christian Religion, which it seems, he had embraced before he came into *Bythinia*; whither, under *Dioclesian* the Emperor, he was called; unto the City of *Nicomedia*, wherein for some while he professed the Art of Rhetorick, whereof he had been a learner before. But being a Latine in a Greek City, his auditory grew thin, so that he was destitute of hearers: hereupon laying aside the work of teaching he betook him unto his pen and fell to writing: being provoked unto, and put upon it by a couple of impure and foul-mouthed Philosophers, who either of them had belched out their books, against both the Religion and name of Christians.

Hieronym.
in catalog.

Lib. Institut.
5. c. 4.

He was at length in *France* made Tutor unto *Crissus*, the son of *Constantine* the great (and his great friend) who committed him for his breeding unto the care of *Lactantius*; an evident argument both of his fame and faithfulness.

Hieronym.
in catalog.
Trithem. de
script.

§ 2. He was a man of great Learning, *multiplici eruditione clarus; abundanter doctor*, inquit *Trithemius*: a very grave Author, saith *Hospinian*; one notably skilled in the Art of Rhetorick, and in all Philosophy; having diligently perused the writings of all sorts of Humane Authors, as his books do sufficiently testify in which he omitted almost none of any science, or Profession, whose testimony he made not use of: and so excelled in eloquence of speech, that therein he was judged to be superior even unto his Master *Arnobius*, who yet was of chief note among Orators.

Osiand.
epito. cent.
descript.
eccles. de
temp. c. 9.

Cent. 4. c. 10.

Sculptet. in
medull.

tois.

Chron. Ber-
gom.

tors. He is for this cause often stiled *Orator disertissimus*, the most eloquent and elegant *Lactantius*, who among the Latines especially added Ornament unto Christian Doctrine; the very top, and most eminent of the Latine Rhetoricians: & in *Divinis Scripturis nobiliter institutus*.

Trithem, de
script.

Possevin, in
apparat.

His great abilities he notably improved for the publick good; for though he were somewhat defective in the inward knowledg of Divine Mysteries, and far inferiour unto many others for his skill in delivering and confirming the Doctrine of Christianity; yet was he a stout Champion for the truth and gave good testimony of his zeal thereunto in opposing with all his might the adversaries thereof; for which work he was excellently furnished, having such a dexterity herein, that he easily refuted and overcame them.

Ep.adPauli-
num.13.

Instit. l. 1. c. 4

Utinam, inquit Hieronymus, tam nostra confirmare potuisset, quàm facile aliena destruxit. For observing the Christian Religion to be destitute of those that should eloquently defend it, the opposers of it being such, I, saith he, undertook this task; being grieved with the sacrilegious writings which they published; and stirred up hereunto with their proud impiety, and conscience of the truth it self: that so with all the strength of my wit, I might reprove the accusers of righteousness: not that I might write against them, who might have been confounded in few words; but that I might at once, by one assault, put to flight all those, who every where do, or have undertaken the same work. A most laudable enterprize, wherein as he

mani-

manifested no small love unto the truth in attempting it, so did he manage it with no less dexterity; for which he hath been deservedly famous in the Church of Christ unto this day: His challenge that he makes of all the Heathen is remarkable. *Si qua, inquit, Instit. l. 3. cap. 20.*
in fiducia est vel in philosophiâ, vel in eloquentiâ, arment se, ac refellant hæc nostra; si possunt, congregiantur comminâs, & singula quæq; discant. Decet eos suscipere defensionem Deorum suorum, ne si nostra invaluerint, ut quotidie invalescunt, cum delubris suis, ac ludibriis deferantur. — Procedant in medium Pontifices, seu minores, seu maximi flamines, angures, item reges, sacrificuli, quiq; sunt sacerdotes & antistites religionum. Convocent nos ad concionem, cohortentur nos ad suscipiendos cultus Deorum, persuadeant multos esse, quorum numine ac providentiâ regantur omnia, ostendant origines, & initia sacrorum, ac deorum, quomodo sint mortalibus tradita, quæ fons, quæ ratio sit, explicent, proferant, quæ vires in cultu, quæ pœna in contemptu maneat, quare ab hominibus se coli velint, quid illis, si beati sunt, humana pietas conferat. Quæ omnia, non asseveratione propriâ, (nec enim valet quicquam mortalis hominis auctoritas) sed divinis aliquibus testimoniis confirment, sicuti nos facimus. — doceant isti hoc modo, si qua illis fiducia veritatis est, loquantur, audeant, inquam, disputare nobiscum aliquid ejusmodi, jam profectio ab aniculis, quas contemnunt, & à pueris nostratibus error illorum ac sulsitia irridebitur, &c.

§ 3. Of the books that he wrote, many have

have been devoured by time, which hath left scarce any thing of them remaining besides the names, of which I find mentioned,

Hieronym.
in catalog.
Cent. 4. c. 10.
de script.
Ecclef.

1. His *Symposium* or banquet, which he wrote in *Africa*, while he was but a youth in the Schools; or (say the *Centurists*) unto the youths of *Africa*: and (as *Tribemius* hath it) in *Hexameter* verse.

Hieronym.
in Catalog.

2. *Ὀδοιπορικόν*, or his journey from *Africa* unto *Nicomedia*, in *Hexameter* verse: (this shews him to have been also an excellent Poet) of which I conceive *Damasus* is to be understood, (if not rather of his Epistles or of both) who gives us an account of the number and nature of them; thus: I confess unto you that those books of *Lactantius* which you sent me of late, I therefore willingly do not read, because in them many Epistles are extended unto the space of a thousand verses or lines, and they do rarely dispute of our Doctrine: whence it comes to pass, both that their length begets a loathing in the Reader, and, if any be short, they are more fit for the Schools than for us, disputing of verse or meter, of the Situation of Regions or Countries, and Philosophers.

See Riccard.
Vincent, in
notis in Can-
tacuzen. in
Cantic.

3. His book, which he Entituled *Grammaticus*.

Hieronym.
in Catalog.

4. *Ad Asclepiadem*, lib. 2. apud *Tribemium*, l. 1.

5. Of Persecution.

6. Four books of Epistles unto *Probus*.

7. Two books of Epistles unto *Severus*.

8. Two

8. Two books of Epistles unto *Demetrian* his Auditor or Scholar.

All these *Jerom* reckons up in his Catalogue. He also makes mentions of the eighth book of his Epistles unto *Demeirian*: so that it seems he wrote so many unto him: Unless we may suppose, that all his Epistles were gathered into one volume, which make up the number of eight books; whereof the two last (and so one of them, the eight) were unto *Demetrian*.

In Ep. ad Gal. c. 4.

9. His book of Paradise, in *Hexameter* verse; All these are lost and perished, none of them being now to be found.

Trith. de Script.

Those that at this day are extant under his name, are these that follow, viz.

1. Seven books of *Institutions*, against the Gentiles, which with an high and Heroick Spirit he wrote under *Constantine* the Great; for so he himself speaks; *Hoc opus, inquit, nunc nominis tui auspicio inchoabimus Constantine Imperator maxime.* *Baronius* calls them *luculentissimos libros.*

In institut. libris contra gentes scrip. fortissimè. Hierony. Ep. Param. 65. Cent. 4. cap. 10. Instit. lib. 1. cap. 1. Ad an. 302. § 60.

That which occasioned the writing of them was the cunning and calumniating books, especially of two great enemies of Christianity: the one whereof, professing himself a man of chief note among the Philosophers, wrote three books against the Christian Name and Religion; whom *Baronius* supposeth to be *Porphyrus*, an Apostate, who at this time excelled among the *Platonicks*, and set forth bitter Commentaries against the Christians; (which then no other Philosopher did.) And therefore by

by Cyril not unjustly filed, the father of Calumnies.

The other, (being of the number of the judges, and one that was the principal Author of the persecution then raised against the Christians, in the City of *Nicomedia* and whole province of *Bithynia*) wrote two books not against the Christians, lest he should seem enviously to inveigh against them; but unto the Christians, that he might be thought gently and with humanity to advise them: which books he intituled, *φιλαληθείς*: *Baronius* thinks his name to be *Hierocles*, a crafty fellow, concealing the wolf under the sheeps skin, that by his fallacious title he might ensnare the Reader. To confute these, and to render the truth oppressed with reproaches, more illustrious and shining with her own beauty, *Lactantius* undertook this Noble task of Writing his seven most excellent books of *Institutions*. Thus *Baronius. in annal. ad an. 302. § 43. ad 61.* Of which in general *Lactantius* himself thus speaks. *Quonquam, inquit, Tertullianus eandem causam plenè peroraverit, in eo libro, cui Apologetico nomen est, tamen quoniam aliud est accusantibus respondere, quod in defensione aut negatione solà positum est, aliud instituire, quod nos facimus, in quo necesse est totius doctrine substantiam contineri; non desugi hunc laborem, ut implem materiam, quam Cyprianus non executus est in eà oratione, quâ Demetrianum, sicut ipse ait, oblatrantem atq; obstrepentem veritati redarguere conatur. Lactant. Institut. Lib. 5. cap. 4.*

The several books are Entitled by these
several Names :

1. Of False Religion ; wherein he shews
the Religion of the gods to be false: After
the proem, asserting providence , and that
there is but one God, which he proves by
the testimonies and Authorities of the Pro-
phets, Poets, Philosophers, Sibyls, and of
Apollo: also (refuting the Gentile gods and
their Religion in the general, and of the Ro-
mans in particular) he proveth that they
were born at a certain time, lived most wick-
edly, and at length did undergo the Law of
all Mortals. Of this, and his book *de opi-
ficio dei*, *Cbytraeus* thus speaks; *Prima pars
operis, inquit, quæ Ethnicas idolomanias &
Philosophicas de deo & summo bono opiniones
taxat, & liber de opificio Dei in structurâ corpo-
ris & animo humano; eruditus & lectu utilissi-
mus est.*

*Scultet. n.
Medull. Lz.
Cantii insti-
tutionum
libri apud
catholicos &
optimos
quosq; viros,
præsertim
sex priores,
optime au-
dierunt
semper. Bul-
ling. de orig.
error.*

*De rat. stud.
Theolog.*

2. Of the Original of error, and that the
Religion of the Gods is vain which he evin-
ceth by divers arguments, shewing that the
causes of all errors in this kind are these two.
First, The defection of *Cham* and the poste-
rity of pious *Noah*, from God. Secondly,
The cunning and craft of the Devil. Third-
ly, Of false Wisdom; wherein he demon-
strates the vanity of Philosophy and Philoso-
phers, instancing in the Epicures, Stoicks,
Pythagoreans and the rest, shewing how
false their chief tenets and opinions be,
and lastly that Philosophy is not true wis-
dom.

4. Of true Wisdom; which comprehends the Doctrine of Christ, his Person, Name, Nativity, two Natures, Miracles and Passion; and afterward he declares the causes of Heresies to be Avarice, Pride, Ignorance of the Scriptures, and admiration of false Prophets.

5. Of Justice: that 'tis not to be found among the Gentiles; and that they are deceived, who think Christians to be fools; and that their sin is great and inexcusable; who persecute the Church pretending it to be for their good, viz. That they may bring them unto a right mind.

6. Of true Worship: which consists in this, that the mind of the worshipper be presented blameless unto God, discoursing at large of vertue and vice, as the ways leading unto heaven and hell; and concluding, that the best Sacrifices which we can offer unto God are these two, integrity of mind, and the praise of his name.

Lib. 7. c. 6.

7. Of the Divine Reward, and the last Judgment, the sum whereof he himself thus sets down; the world, saith he, was made, that we might be born; we are born that we may acknowledg God the Creator of the world, and our selves; we acknowledg him, that we may worship him; we worship him, that we may obtain immortality, as the reward of our labors; we receive the reward of immortality, that we may for ever serve, and be an eternal Kingdom unto the most High God our Father.

2. Of the Anger of God; some Philosophers denying it, he proves by nine several arguments

arguments that God is angry, and answers the objections to the contrary. He wrote this book unto *Donatus*, and it is highly commended by *Jerom*, who calls it a most fair or elegant book, which he wrote in a learned and eloquent stile.

In Catalog.
& in comin.
in Ep. ad E-
phesc. 4.

3. Of the Workmanship of God; unto *Demetrian* his Auditor: a learned piece and most profitable to be read. It was written by him to this end, that by the wonderful structure of man, he might prove the Providence of God: He therefore takes a view of, and looks into the several members of the body, and in them shews how great the power of Divine Providence is: withal removing the cavils of the Epicures against it: And toward the end, discourseth of the Soul for the same purpose.

Scultet. in
Medull.

4. An Epitome of his Institutions, which wants the beginning; and is clearly, saith *Baptista Ignatius*, but a fragment: being a repetition of the chief heads of doctrine contained in that larger work. All these, saith *Belarmine*, are without controversie the works of *Lactantius*.

In Ep. ante
editi Venet.
Lact. opera.

There are besides these; certain Poems that appear, and have been published unto the world under his name; concerning which it is very questionable whether they be his or no: seeing, that neither *Jerom* nor *Tribemius* take any notice of them, nor did *Thomasius*; as he tells us, find them in any Ancient Copies. The Titles of them are these following.

In Schol. in
Lactant.

In Schol. in
Biblioth.
patr. tom. 9.

1. Of the *Phoenix* : they are not, saith *Thomasius*, the verses of *Lactantius*, but written by some most elegant Poet, who yet, I believe, saith he, was not a Christian: for he calls his *Phoenix* the Priest of the Sun, and speaks of *Phæbus*, as if he were in very deed a god.

Ibid.

2. Of the day of the Resurrection of the Lord; which for elegancy, is no way comparable unto the former; whence it evidently appears that they are not of the same Author and Authority. *Thomasius* saith, that he found them in the *Vaticane* Library among the works of the Christian Poet *Venantius Fortunatus* Bishop of *Poitiers*. And whereas in the Ordinary Editions the Poem begins with this Distich,

Salve festa dies. —

By the Authority of the *Vaticane* copy, he placeth it twenty Distichs off, immediately before that.

Mobilitas anni. —

Which from his copy he amends thus, *Nobilitas anni. —* and in the *Pentameter*, for *Stridula cunctis*, he puts *Stridula punctis*. And out of the same copy, he adds unto the Poem, ten verses more then are usually found, both because they very well agree with it, and also because in the end of the Poem be these Numeral Letters, CX. to make up which, those ten were to be added; yea, I find an hundred and twelve verses of this Poem,

Poem, in the *Parisian* Edition of the Poems of *Venantius*.

Biblio. Patr.

3. Of the Passion of the Lord; of which Poem *Thomasius* tells us he could nowhere find any footsteps at all: and therefore unlikely to have *Lactantius* for the Author. Yea the Author both of this and the former is very doubtful, saith *Bellarmino*, because some do deny them to be his; though hereof we have no certain Argument. His verses of Christ's Passion, saith *Mr. Perkins*, are counterfeited, for they contradict all his true writings in these words,

Ibid.

De script.
Eccles.

*Flecte genu lignumq; crucis venerabile
adora.*

Perkins problem. For (saith *Illiricus*, in *Catalog. test. veritat. lib. 4.*) He vehemently inveigheth against Images.

4. As for the Arguments upon the several Fables of *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, and the Annotations upon *Statius* his *Thebais*, by *Gesner* and *Glareanus* attributed unto *Lactantius*, (which they account most worthy to be read) the diversity of the Stile speaks them not to be his: they rather belong, saith *Possevin*, unto *Luciatius Placidus* a Grammarian. The Commentaries upon *Thebais*, saith *Gregorius Gyraldus*, are not of *Lactantius*; for in them many things almost word for word are taken out of *Servius* the Grammarian, who lived more then an age after *Firminus*: they are the work of one *Placidus Lactantius*, or (as some Learned men call him) *Placidus Lactantius*: thus he.

Possevin. in
appar. Chro.
Bergomensis.

Ibid.

De Poet. hist.

In Chron.
ad an. 322.

Alsted. en-
cyclop. hist.
Trithem.
descript.

Ascham.
Schoolmr. l. 3
In Ep. ad
Paulin. r. 3.
Ep. ad Ma-
gnum. 84.
In elect. in
l. 2. Arnob.
in prefat.

Ant. Sabelli.
Ennead.
Lud. Vives.
de trad.
disciplin. l. 3.
Ante Nazi-
anz. opera.
de poet. hist.

§ 4. His stile is so accurate and polite, that he excelled all those of his time, (*vit omnium, inquit Eusebius, suo tempore eloquentis- simus*) and hath justly merited the name of the Christian Cicero; coming nearest of any unto that Prince of Orators, in whom chiefly, the Latine Tongue was fully ripe and grown unto the highest pitch of all perfection. Jerom therefore stiles him a certain River as it were of *Tullian*, eloquence: and he that shall Read his works, saith he, will find in them an Epitome of Cicero's Dialogues. And as he followed his Master *Arnobius*, so did he, saith *Goddeschalcus Stewebius*, almost overtake him: for however *Arnobius* might go before him in the strength of his arguments, and weight of things; yet doth *Lactantius* so recompence that in elegancy of speech, and gravity of sentences, that it is a hard matter to know which to prefer before other: the clearness and neatness of his Language was wonderful; being the most eloquent of all the Christians; his sound is plainly *Ciceronian*; to whom *Erasmus* ascribes, *felicem facilitatem: fuit eloquentia Ciceroniae, inquit Gyraldus, inter Christianos precipuus emulador.*

§ 5. There are to be found in his writings many grave sentences and excellent passages, that may be of great use unto the Reader; though in the Doctrine of Christianity he come short of many others; his principal scope being the discovery and confutation of heathenish idolatry and superstition;

tion; which he happily performed. *Non multum potest juvare lectiorem, inquit Chennitius, tantum enim ferè contra Paganismum disputat.* Amongst divers things in him not unworthy of serious observation, take these that follow.

In orat. de
lect. patr.
ante loc. c6.

1. Speaking unto those, who, having been accustomed unto polite Orations or Poems, pleasing and delightful to the ear, do therefore despise, as sordid, the plain and common language of the Scripture: saith he, Cannot God the former of the heart, speech and tongue, speak eloquently? Yea, but in his most wise providence he would have those things to want varnish, which are Divine: that all might understand the things which he spake unto all.

Instit. l. 6.
cap. 21.

2. Again, to the same purpose; the Sacred Scriptures, saith he, deliver things briefly and nakedly, neither indeed was it meet to be otherwise, as if when God would speak to men, he should affect his words with arguments, as if he were not to be believed; but, as it became him, he spake as God himself, as the great judge of all things; for whom, 'tis not to argue, but to pronounce what is true.

Instit. l. 3. c. 8

3. Of the mighty force and efficacy of the Scriptures and Christian Religion, beyond all the Rules of Moral Philosophy, to expel vice and plant in men all kind of vertue, he thus speaks. *Da mihi virum, qui sit iracundus:* — Give me, saith he, a man that is wrathful, foulmouthed, unruly, with a few words of Gods book I will make him as gentle as a Lamb; Give me one that is close filled, co-

Instit. lib. 3.
cap. 26.

vetous, greedy of money; I will send him back unto thee liberal, bountifully distributing his money with his own hands. Give me one that is fearful of torment and death; he shall soon despise crosses, and fires, and *Phalaris* his Bull. Give me a lecher, an adulterer, a haunter of brothel-houses; you shall see him sober, continent. Give me one that is cruelly disposed and blood-thirsty; that fury of his shall be changed into true clemency. Give me one who is unjust, unwise, a sinner, he quickly shall be just, wise, upright. So great is the power of Divine Wisdom, that being infused into the breast of a man, doth at one assault expel folly, the mother of vices. — Hath any one of the Philosophers either performed these things, or can he, if he will? Who when they have worn out all their time in the study of Philosophy, can make neither any other, nor themselves better, if nature a little withstand. Therefore their wisdom when it hath done its utmost, doth not abolish, but hide vices. Whereas a few precepts of God do change the whole man, and, the old being put off, do make him new, that you cannot know him to be the same.

Non excin-
dit vitia sed
abscondit.

Instit. 4. c. 13

4. Of the Church: thus. The Church, saith he, is the true Temple of God, which consisteth not in walls, but in the hearts and faith of men, who believe on him, and are called faithful or believers.

Instit. 4. c. 30

5. Again, That only is the Catholick Church, which retains the true Worship of God. This is the fountain of verity, this is household of faith, this is the temple of God,

into

into which who so shall not enter, or from which, who so shall depart, he is an alien from the hope of eternal life and salvation.— And because every company of Hereticks, do think that they chiefly are Christians, and theirs to be the Catholick Church; we are to know, that that is the true; wherein is Religion, Confession and Repentance, which wholsomly cures the sins and wounds unto which the frailty of the flesh is subject.

6. Of Repentance thus; He that repents of his deed, understands his former error; Inft. l. 6. c. 24 wherefore, the Greeks do better and more significantly call it *μετάνοιαν*, then we Latines can call it *Resipiscientiam*. For he repents, and, as it were, recovers his mind from madness, who grieveth for his error, and corrects himself for his folly, and confirms his mind to live more uprightly, being most wary of this, that he be not again drawn into the same snares.

7. Again, The conscience of sin and fear of punishment, makes a man the more Religious: and always faith is by much more firm, which repentance resettles or puts again in its place. Inft. l. 5. c. 13

8. He sets down the sum of the Law, referring it unto two heads, after this manner. The first head or chief point of the Law is to know God and to obey and worship him alone: Or, the first duty or point of righteousness is to be in conjunction or communion with God: the second with man: the former is called Religion: the other is named, mercy or humanity. — Wherefore the principal bond of men among themselves, is humanity, the

*Confangu.
Act. 17. 26.*

Gen. 13. 8.

Inst. 1. 6. c. 25

Inst. 1. 1. c. 2.

the which, whosoever shall break asunder, is to be accounted a wretch and a parricide. For if we all have our Original from one man, whom God formed, surely, we are of kin and of the same blood; and therefore is it the greatest crime to hate a man, even an enemy: for which cause God hath commanded that we should never bear enmity toward any, but always take it away, to wit, that we should pacifie those who are enemies unto us, by admonishing them of the alliance that is between us.

9. God, saith he, is not to be worshipped with offerings and much blood; but with a pure mind and honest purpose. Temples are not to be builded unto him with stones heaped together on high; but to be hallowed by every one in his own brest. If any one think that garments and gems and other things which are had in esteem, are dear to God, he plainly knows not what God is; who thinks that he takes pleasure in those things, which, if even a man contemn, he shall be justly praised. What therefore is pure, what worthy of God? but that which he himself in his Divine Law requireth. Two things there are which ought to be offered; a gift and a sacrifice: the gift is integrity of mind; the sacrifice, praise and thanksgiving.

10. There is no man so rude and of such barbarous manners, but, when he lifts up his eyes unto heaven, albeit he know not by the providence of what God this universe, which he beholds, is governed, yet doth he understand that there is one, by the very vastness, motion, order, constancy, utility, beauty and temperament

temperament of thing: and that it cannot be, but that that which consisteth in such an admirable manner, is guided by some greater Counsel.

§ 6. These and many other the like useful passages are to be found in his writings: though yet for the chief points of Religion he handles them but very slenderly, and not so plainly as he should: for there is not a clear sentence concerning faith, the benefits of the Son of God, or of any other necessary part of the Doctrine of Christianity to be met with in *Lactantius* throughout: he being for the most part employed in refuting the false opinions of the Gentiles; which is the ground of that speech of *Chemnitius*, that *Lactantius* cannot much advantage his Reader. Many points of Religion he but toucheth only, and the most he understood not: so likewise speaks *Chytraus* of him; *Doctrinam Evangelii propriam, de beneficiis Christi, & de fide parum intellexit*. Whence it comes to pass that his errors were neither few nor small; speaking of the weightiest doctrines very unfitly and improperly; though perhaps in some of them (as *Osiander* charitably conceives) he thought better, and was more sound in his judgment.

Cent. 4. c. 10

*In Orat. de
lect. patr.
Sculter. in
Medull.*

*De stud.
Theolog.*

*Epitom. hist.
Eccles. cent.
4. l. 1. c. 32.*

His Errors were such as these.

1. Concerning God, his expression is very unmeet and dangerous, viz. That God made himself, Yet may his meaning be that God had his being of himself; for so: *lib. 2. 9.*

ris

Infr. l. 1. c. 7.

'tis God alone who is not made; — he is of himself, as we said: *lib. 1.* and therefore is such as he would himself to be, viz. impassible, immutable, uncorrupt, blessed, eternal.

Cent. 4 c. 19. 2. He so speaks of Christ, say the Centurists, that a man may well say; he never rightly understood either the person or Office of the Son of Son of God. As where he saith;

Inst. 1. 2. c. 9. That God did produce a Spirit like himself, who should be endued with the vertues of God his Father. Also, The Commands of
Ibid. 1. 4. 14. his Father he faithfully observed: for he taught, that God is one, and that he alone ought to be worshipped; neither did he ever say that himself was God; for he should not have been faithful, if, being sent to take away the gods, and to assert one, should have brought in another beside (that) one. These and such like words he hath, that do not a little smell of *Arianism*. Indeed, he in this particular doth not express himself so warily as he ought; which hath occasioned such suspicions of him; but yet however, that in his judgment he neither denied nor doubted of the Deity or Eternity of Christ, seems clear from divers other places, where in so many words he acknowledgeth both; as, where he calls him the word of God; &

Inst. 1. 4. c. 8. (*inquit*) *merito sermo & verbum dei dicitur, qui procedentem de ore suo vocalem Spiritum, quem non utero sed mente conceperat, inexogitabili quadam majestatis sue virtute, ad effigiem, quæ proprio sensu, ac sapientiâ viget, comprehendit, & alios item Spiritus in angelos figuraverit;*

figuraverit. Also, if any wonder that God should be generated of God, *prolatione vocis ac Spiritus*; when once he shall know the sacred voices of the Prophet, he will certainly cease to wonder. Again, he saith, that the Jews condemned their God. Lastly, *Sicut mater, inquit, sine exemplo genuit Authorem suum; sic ineffabiliter Pater genuisse credendus est Coeternum.* De matre natus est, qui ante jam fuit; de Patre, qui aliquando non fuit. Hoc fides credat, intelligentia non requirat, ne aut non inventum putet incredibile, aut reperi- tum non credat singulare. If therefore in some places he seem to deliver that which favors too much of *Arius*, or speak not so clearly of Christ as he should; *Thomasius*, that diligent peruser of him, who compared divers Copies together, is of the mind, that there his books are by some *Arian* corrupted; giving sundry instances herein.

Ibid.

Lib. 4. c. 18.
Lib. 2. c. 9.

In Scholliis.
in l. 4. c. 16. &
c. 22. in Bibli-
Patr.

3. He unadvisedly saith, that Christ after his resurrection went into *Galilee*, because he would not shew himself unto the Jews, lest he should bring them unto repentance, and save those wicked men.

Infr. l. 4. c. 20

4. He is silent concerning the Priestly Office of Christ, mentioning no other ends of his Incarnation or coming, and passion, but only to reveal and make known unto men the Mysteries of Religion, and to give them an example of vertue.

Cent. 4. c. 10.
Sculc. c. 12.
Chytr. de
stud. Theol.

5. He knew nothing at all of the Holy Ghost; and makes little or no mention of him in his books now extant. Or, if he knew any thing, *Jerom* acquaints us what his

Cent. libid.
Ep. 69. Pam.

his apprehensions of him were; In his books, saith he, and especially in his Epistles unto *Demetrian*, he denies the substance of the holy Ghost, saying, according to the error of the Jews, that he is referred either unto the Father, or the Son; and that the sanctification of either person, is demonstrated under his name. So that, what *Jerom* spake of *Origen*, may not unfitly be applied unto him also, viz. that his opinion of the Son was bad, but concerning the holy Ghost was worse.

Ibid.

6. He conceited, that the Angels were given unto men to be their guardians, lest they should be destroyed by the Devil, unto whom at first the power of the earth was given. And that those guardian Angel, being allured to accompany with women were for this their sin cast down from heaven; and so of the Angels of God, became the Ministers of the Devil.

Inst. l. 7. c. 5.

7. Also, That God created an infinite number of souls, which he afterward put into frail and weak bodies that being in the midst between good and evil, and vertue being propounded unto man consisting of both natures, he might not with ease and delicacy obtain immortality, but with great difficulty and labor get the reward of eternal life.

Inst. l. 7. c. 27

Lib. de opifi. del. c. 20.

De stud. Theolog.

8. He speaks nothing of the righteousness of faith; but that salvation is merited by good works; and that if a man serve not the earth, which he ought to tread underfoot, he shall merit everlasting life. *Cum lib. 5. & 6. (inquit Chytraeus) orationem de justitia Christiana*

fiana ex professo institueris, tamen de philosophia tantum seu legis justitia disputat & justitia fidei, quæ Evangelii propriâ est, nullam ferè mentionem facit.

9. Of Prayer, saith he, As often as a man asks, he is to believe that he is tempted of God, whether he be worthy to be heard: Of pardon of sin thus, that God vouchsafes it unto them that sin ignorantly, but not unto them that sin of knowledge and wittingly. Also that a man may be without sin, which yet he contradicts within a few lines after.

Institut. lib.
6. c. 13.

10. He hath many superstitious things concerning the virtue of the sign of the Cross, viz. That it is terrible unto the Devils, *qui adjurati per Christum, de corporibus quæ obsederint, fugiunt. Nam sicut Christus ipse Demonas verbo fugabat, ita nunc sectatores ejus eosdem, spiritus inquinatos de hominibus et nomine Magistri sui et signo passionis excludunt. Cujus rei non difficilis est probatio, nam cum diis suis immolant, si assistat aliquis signatam fronte gerens, sacra nullo modo litant, nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates.*

Institut. lib.
4. c. 37.

11. He thinks it unlawful for a righteous man to go to war, or to accuse any one of a capital crime, because Murther is forbidden.

Institut. lib.
6. c. 20.

12. He denied that there were any Antipodes, and that with much earnestness and confidence, bestowing a whole Chapter upon the maintainance of so evident a mistake, in shewing the Original, and (as he conceived) the absurdity of the Antipodian opinion, and confuting it: wondring at the folly of those that held it. What shall we think, saith he,

Institut. lib.
3. c. 24.

of

of them who give out that there are Antipodes walking opposite unto us? Do they speak any thing to the purpose? or are there any so stupid as to believe, that there are men whose feet are higher than their heads, or that those things there do hang which with us do lye on the ground? That the Plants and Trees spring downward, that the snow and rain and hail fall upward upon the earth? And need any man marvel that hanging Gardens are accounted in the number of the seven wonders of the world, since the Philosophers have made both Fields and Seas, Cities and Mountains all hanging? ——— What to say of these I know not, who having once erred do constantly persist in their folly, and with vain defend vain things, only sometimes I think that they play the Philosophers in jest, or wittingly and knowingly undertake to defend falsehood, to exercise, as it were, and shew their wit in things that are evil. Strange ignorance that accounts so palpable a truth so gross an error, yet herein was *Lactantius* outgone by *Zachary* Bishop of *Rome*, (oh the infallibility of that Chair!) who condemned one *Vigilius* Bishop of *Saltzburg* as an heretick, only for holding that there were Antipodes.

Hakewel. A-
polog. lib. 3.
cap. 8. § 1.

Institut. lib.
7. c. 21.

13. That the Souls of all men are detained in one common prison, until the coming of the great Judge.

Institut. lib.
7. c. 17.

14. He hath fond conceits of the coming of a great Prophet immediately before the end of the world, who shall convert men unto God, and work strange miracles; unto whom he applies those passages concerning the two witnesses, mentioned in *Revel. cap. 11.*

15. He

15. He is a millenary, asserteth two resurrections, and largely discourseth of the reign of the Saints upon earth after the first, for the space of a thousand years, and what should fall out during that time. After this (saith he) shall be the last judgment, in which not all shall be judged, (the wicked being condemned already) but only those who know God, at what time their good works shall be weighed with their bad, and if the good do over ballance the bad they shall go into life, if otherwise they shall be condemned. A gross error and cross to plain Scriptures.

Institut. lib. 7. cap. 14.

16. He thus speaks of the last judgment, when (saith he) the Lord shall judge the righteous, he shall prove or try them by fire, (he seems to allude unto, 1 Cor. 3. 13.) Then they whose sins shall prevail either in weight or number shall be burnt, but those whom righteousness and maturity of virtue shall have fully concocted, shall not feel that fire: For they have somewhat that repels the force of the flame, &c.

Institut lib. 7. c. 21.

These and other the like unsound passages are scattered up and down in the Writings of Lactantius, who is therefore to be read with much caution, (*apud Lactantium inquit Hyperius, invenies plura que sapientem lectorem desiderant.*) He made too much of Philosophy, (as did also other of the Ancients) chiefly that of Plato, and too closely followed Origen, which was the cause why in so many things, he swerved and wandred from the truth, and was so great a stranger unto it: *Retinuit tamen hæc lenus (inquit Bullingerus) suam gloriam in Ecclesiâ Christi.*

De rat. stud. Theolog. lib. 4.

Thomas. in Schol. in Hb. 7. cap. 15. institut.

de Orin. error. c. 29.

In catalog.

Euseb.
chron. ad an.
322.

§ 7. As concerning his death, I find no mention at all in History, where, or after what manner he ended his life. That he lived unto a great Age, may be gathered from what *Jerom* writes of him, that in his extreme old Age, he was in *France*, Schoolmaster unto *Crispus* the Son of *Constantine* the Great, where therefore it is most likely he might end his days: But withal he was reduced to such poverty and want, (which is somewhat strange being a man of such worth and so greatly favoured by that good Emperour) that for the most part he lacked even necessities for his subsistence.

Athanasius.

Athanasius.

§ 1. **H**E was born at *Alexandria*, of
 vertuous and godly Parents, and
 their only Son: From his very
 Childhood he gave good evidences of his to-
 wardliness and inclination unto piety and spi-
 ritual things. One thing especially as very
 remarkable, and presaging his future dignity
 and employment, is recorded by most Histo-
 rians concerning him, and it is this: He with
 his play-fellows in their childish sports, imi-
 tating those things that were done in the
 Church, was chosen by the rest for their
 Bishop: Who acting his part accordingly,
 baptized some of the boys, that had not been
 baptized before, according unto the due form
 of interrogatories and answers usually prece-
 ding Baptism; giving them afterwards divers
 exhortations and admonitions. All which,
Alexander, then Bishop of that place, passing
 by at a distance beheld, and understanding by
 examining them how he had proceeded, con-
 cluded with his Presbyters, that what was
 done, though in childish simplicity, was va-
 lid, and that those Children ought not again
 to be baptized.

Alexander being moved herewith, and ha-
 ving sent for his Parents, earnestly besought

Athanasii
 omnino vita
 praelegenda
 est ab eo qui
 ejus scripta
 cum fructu
 cupit evol-
 vere. Posses.
 in apparat.

Socrat. lib.
 I. cap. II.

Ruffin. hist.
 lib. c. 14.

Ruffin. hist.
lib. 1. c. 14.

and charged them that he should be carefully trained up in piety and learning for the service of the Church: which accordingly they diligently performed, delivering him unto a certain Notary, who instructed him in the Grammar: After which he spent some small time in the study of the liberal Arts; lest he should seem to be altogether ignorant in this regard; which having lightly tasted and passed thorow, he is, as another *Samuel*, by his Parents according to their promise presented unto the Bishop: With him, being taken into his care and tuition, he applies himself wholly unto the study of divinity, most diligently perusing and meditating in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, by which means he became deeply insighted into them: hereunto he added also the study of the Law, wherein he attained unto so much skill, that *Sulpitius Severus* speaking of him, gives him the Title of *Jurisconsultus* or a Lawyer.

Sac. hist. l. 2.
S. 1.

In Epist. ad
Epiſictam.

For a while he lived with the Bishop as his *Amannensis* or Scribe, who afterward promoted him unto the Office of a Deacon, and from thence unto the rest of the sacred orders; all which he passed through, behaving himself in an admirable manner.

In præfat.
ant. concil.
Sardicens.
S. 1.

The Council of *Nice*, (so famous even unto this day, of which *Atbanasius* thus speaks; *Nulla (inquit) est in Catholicâ Ecclesiâ synodus existimanda præter unicam Nicenam, quæ omnium heresicon profligatorum ac imprimis Ariane trophæum habenda est.* And *Binnius* thus: *Patrum hujus consilii autoritas erat orthodoxe fidei clypeus, impiorum terror ac lucus, ecclesiarum nexus & quies.*) This Council, I say, being

being called by the Emperor *Constantine* the Great, *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* going thither, takes along with him young *Athanasius*, who was present not only as a spectator, but an assistant unto the Bishop, now grown aged, helping him much in refuting the subtil Sophisms of the adversaries: wherein he gave a notable experiment of his Learning and Piety, which much endeared him unto the Orthodox, but made him from that time no less envied and hated by the *Arian* Hereticks.

Ruffin. hist.
lib. 1. c. 14.

Alexander survived this Council but a little while, not above the space of five months: when he was upon his death bed, he would often call for *Athanasius*, who purposely absented himself, being unwilling to undertake the charge of that Church, which yet the old Bishop had designed him unto, using such like words as these; *Athanasius*, thou thinkest to escape, but thou shalt not: meaning hereby both the Bishoprick, and also the many and great conflicts that he should undergo: which were such, that an Historian applies unto him those words of Christ unto *Paul*; *I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my names sake.*

Ruffin. hist.
lib. 1. c. 14.

AG. 2. 16.

Alexander dying, *Athanasius* is by the general vote chosen Bishop in his room; being then about four and twenty years of age, so great was his proficiency in whatever qualifications were requisite for that Office. This his Election by an Universal consent, is testified by the Church of *Alexandria* in these words. We with the whole City and Province do testify, that the whole multitude

Possevin.
appar.

and people of the Catholick Church, being met together, and, as but of one body and soul, did with clamors and cries require that *Athanasius* might be given us for the Bishop of this Church; and that with publick prayers they desired this of Christ; which that we the Clergy would do, they earnestly besought us night and day, themselves in the mean time not departing from the Church, nor permitting us to depart. Whence it evidently appears how great the inclination of them all was unto him, and how honorable an opinion they had of him.

He no sooner undertook this weighty charge, but forthwith he applied himself diligently, (and made it his main work) to illustrate the truth, to assert and vindicate the Doctrine of the Eternal Deity of the Son of God, and to reduce those into the right way again, who had been led astray, being infected with the *Arian* Heresie: for which reason, that faction (conceiving that their cause could not thrive and prosper, while it had such an adversary in so eminent a place & dignity) became his implacable enemies, still contriving mischief against him, and endeavouring his disturbance by multiplied calumnies, and false accusations: So that, *Ejus annorum quadraginta sex Episcopatus perpetuus fuit persecutio, (inquit Espenceus) exilium propè irremissum, fuga frequens, & latitatio diuturna.* The truth hereof may be seen in the following passages of his life.

His chief adversary was *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who with his complices many ways assailed him, as,

I. They

Nihil tibi
prius agen-
dum rati
sunt Ariani,
quàm ut
Athanasium
Ecclesia
submove-
rent, qui
semper eis
velut murus
obstiterat,
quo remoto,
reliquos in
suam libidi-
nem cessuros
sperabant.
Sulp't. Sever.
lib. 2.
In 1. T. n.
digress. l. 1.
c. 17.

1. They cavilled at, and found fault with his Election, as undue; but that came to nought.

2. They traduced him unto the Emperor *Constantine* the Great, as one that caused divisions and distractions in the Church, and hindered concord: the ground whereof was, his refusing to receive the Heretick *Arius* (a Presbyter of *Alexandria*) into Communion, whose return from banishment had been procured by a certain Presbyter about the Emperor, upon his fained submission and consent unto the *Nicene* faith. Hereupon the Emperor, (giving too much credit unto the party of *Eusebius*) wrote menacing letters unto *Athanasius*, threatening to remove him from his place in case he should persist to refuse *Arius*: But he by his Letters, gave full satisfaction unto the Emperor; shewing that such an Heretick having been proscribed and justly excommunicated by so famous a Council, ought not to be received again, but upon his repentance manifested, and by the publick consent of the pious. This not succeeding, his adversaries

3. Proceeded to accuse him as a fomentor of sedition aiding with money one *Philumenus*, who enterprised somewhat against the Emperor. But he, coming unto *Constantinople*, cleared himself, and made his innocence so to appear, that the Emperor not only acquitted him from all suspicion of the crime objected unto him, but also honorably sent him back unto *Alexandria*, with letters of high commendation. Being thus disappointed, his restless enemies ceased not to

In notis in
conc. tom. I.

charge him with more heinous crimes, unto which he made his answer in the Synod of Tyre consisting of sixty Bishops, who were convened for the consecration of a Magnificent temple which the Emperor had built at *Hierusalem*: of which *Binnius* thus speaks: *conciliabulum (inquit) & malignantium conventus; ad quod convocati sunt Episcopi duntaxat illi, quos Eusebius & Eusebiani nefarii heresiarchæ advocandos persuaserunt.* The Bishops being assembled, *Athanasius* is

4. Accused before them, by an impudent Harlot (whom the *Arians* had suborned) to have vitiated and abused her. But *Timothew*, a worthy Presbyter, speaking unto her, as if he had been *Athanasius*; did I ever, saith he, enter into thine house, or had any thing to do with thee? Unto whom she pointing at *Timothew* with her finger, thus replyeth with much eagerness; Thou, thou art he that hast abused me, and dispoiled me of my chastity; By which means the fraud being thus discovered, those of the conspiracy were surpris'd with shame, yet not desisting;

5. They proceed to charg him with the Murther of one *Arfenius*, (whom they had conveyed away and hidden) sometime a Reader, or, as some, a Deacon in the Church of *Alexandria*; producing and shewing forth the arm of a man, which they pretended to be his, and to have been cut off and kept by *Athanasius* for some Magick uses. Upon the sight whereof there was a great cry among them against *Athanasius* for so abominable a fact. But silence being made *Athanasius* demand-

ed,

ed, whether any one there present had known *Arsenius*? Unto which some answering affirmatively he hereupon brings forth *Arsenius* (who had the day before come voluntarily unto *Tyre*, and shewed himself unto *Athanasius*) and presents him before the Council sound and having both his Arms: whereat the Conspirators were so abashed and confounded, that they knew not what to say, only they cried out, that he was a Magician, and deluded the eyes of the beholders. Unto all which they yet add,

6. That *Macarius* a Presbyter of *Alexandria* being sent unto *Marcotis* to forbid one *Ischyas* or *Ischarion*, (who usurped the Office of a Minister) to Officiate or Administer the holy things: He by the command of *Athanasius* (as they suggested) had overturned the holy Table broken the Chalice, and burned certain Books; but the falshood hereof was soon made apparent; for *Ischyas* repenting, publicly confessed that he had slandered him, being suborned by the *Meletians*, and enforced so to do: (these *Meletians*, so called from *Meletius* a certain *Egyptian* Bishop were in this conspiracy confederates with the *Arians*.) Hereat being greatly enraged, they would have offered violence unto *Athanasius*, which to avoid, he went out of the Synod, and betook him unto the Emperor. Being gone, they sentenced him, as guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, to be deposed from his Bishoprick; writing Letters unto the Bishops every where not to Communicate or have any Commerce with him. The famous Confessor *Papbnninus* Bishop

Bin. in notis
in concil.
tom. I.
Socrat. hist.
l. I. c. 3.

Bishop of the upper *Thebais*, being now present in this Synod, and perceiving that they purposed to proceed against *Athanasius*, taking *Maximus* Bishop of *Hierusalem* by the hand; Arise, saith he unto him, and let us depart hence, for it is not meet that we who have had our eyes put out for the word of truth, should partake with these wicked men, in their violent proceeding against the defenders of true piety.

The Emperor understanding what had passed, was much incensed against those Bishops, and by his Letters sharply reprehended them for what they had done, requiring them to appear before him at *Constantinople*: whither being come, they waving all former accusations, instil into the Emperors ears, another foul slander against *Athanasius*, viz. That he had threatned to hinder the transportation of corn (as was wont) from *Egypt* unto *Constantinople*: which begat in the Emperor such indignation against the Bishop, that without hearing he banished him into *France* unto the City of *Triers* (*Galliarum metropolis, inquit Athanasius; Treviris, ad Mosellæ ripam, olim (inquit Victorinus) insignis Gallie, nunc Germanie imperialis urbs*) then belonging unto that Kingdom, but since unto *Germany* being now the seat of one of the Ecclesiastical Electors: although some conceive, that the Emperor did this for the safety of *Athanasius*, and in hope, that hereupon peace and unity among the Bishops would ensue.

Banished the first time.

In Ep. ad solit. vitam agentes.
In Schol. in Hieronym. epist. 6.

Hist. tripart. l. 4. c. 2. & Athanasius in Ep. ad vitam solit. agent.

Athan. de
morte Arij.

Arius upon the banishment of *Athanasius*, entering again into *Alexandria*, occasions new tumults there, which when the Emperour understood, he sendeth for him unto *Constantinople*, requiring him by subscription to testifie his consent unto the *Nicen* faith: this he doth signedly. Hereupon the Emperour requires *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople*, to receive him into communion: Who all night long by earnest prayer beseecheth the Lord either to take him out of this life, or else to take away *Arius*, lest by him this Church should be infected with his heresie. *Arius*, the next day coming with a great company toward the Church, in the way turns aside to ease himself, which while he was doing he burst asunder in the midst like another *Judas*, so that his bowels came out, and dyed ignominiously in the place, whom the *Eusebians* with shame enough took thence and buried him. So prevalent were the prayers of the good Bishop *Alexander*.

Shortly after this dyeth the Emperour *Constantine* the great, leaving the Empire unto his three Sons, viz. unto *Constantius* the East, and the West unto the other two, *Constans* and *Constantine*. Before his death he had a purpose to recal *Athanasius* from his banishment, but being prevented he commits the doing thereof unto his Son *Constantine*, which he accordingly performed, sending him back with Letters recommendatory unto the Church of *Alexandria*, unto which he returned after he had been about two years and four Months in exile. But he held not his government quietly above three years, for (returning with-

Hist. tripart.
lib. 4. cap. 2.

out

Entitled by
Binnius.
Concilium
Antioche-
num primum
sub Julio Pa-
pa primo, ce-
lebratum, in
quo Ariani
Athanasium
de posue-
runt, atq;
Gregorium
Cappadocem
substitu-
erunt. concil.
tom. I. anno
341.

He flyeth a
second time.

Hides the
third time.

And flyeth.

out common consent, and the decree of the Bishops) he was by the *Arians* accused unto *Constantius* (infected with, and a great favourer of that Heresie) and thereupon by the Synod of *Antioch*, (wherein the *Arian* faction prevailed) consisting of ninety Bishops, again deposed and one *Gregory* set up in his Room.

Athanasius now finding it not safe for him to continue in *Alexandria*, fled unto *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*; who assembling the Western Bishops, sends him back with Letters testimonial, and pressing his restitution: But upon his return unto *Alexandria*, a great tumult being raised by the *Arians* wherein some were slain, the blame hereof is cast upon *Athanasius*, and this seconded with other calumnies: which so enraged the Emperour *Constantius* against him, that he sent one *Cyrianns* a Captain with many Soldiers to apprehend him: Withal, by his Edicts he required all his Officers to make diligent search for him, promising rewards unto any that should bring him alive, or else his head unto the Emperour.

Hereupon he is forced to hide himself; which for sometime he did in a certain Well or Cave which was known unto none, save only to one of his familar friends, who sent him necessities by a Servant who at length discovered him: But *Athanasius* having timely notice hereof, the same night wherein he should have been apprehended, betook him unto another place. Yet finding it not safe for him to remain in the dominions of *Constantius*, he fled into the West unto the Emperour

perour *Constance*, who very honourably received him. Unto whom he makes a very sad complaint of the injuries offered him by the *Arians*, earnestly desiring him that a Synod might be called for the discussing of his cause. The Emperour hearkning unto him, obtains of his Brother that an universal Council both of the East and Western Bishops, should be convened at *Sardica* in *Illyricum*: Of which, *Binnius* thus; *Concilium Sardicense*, (*inquit*) *Nicani appendix, et a multis Nicani nomine comprehenditur. Scultetus* styles it, *parem Nicene Synodo*. Where being assembled, the Eastern Bishops required, that *Athanasius* and his fautors should be removed from the Council: Which being denied as unjust, the Eastern Bishops withdrew, and instituted an Antisynod at *Philopolis* in *Thrace*, wherein the decrees of the Council of *Tyre* against *Athanasius* were confirmed, the doctrine *ωρις ἀνομις* concluded and agreed on, and *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Hosius* of *Corduba*, *Maximus* of *Triers*, and divers others for receiving *Athanasius* unto communion, were deprived of their Bishopricks. What was the issue of these cross Councils, appears in the following words. *Ex contrariis decretis barum Synodorum ortum est atrox et diuturnum Schisma inter Orientales et Occidentales Ecclesias, quod ante Gratianum et Theodosium Imperatores non desuit, ita ut invicem non communicarent.*

Quia concilium Sardicense Nicenae tantum fidei tutelam suscepit et quia Patrum utriusque una fuit sententia, una mens unus spiritus, semper appendix tantam Niceni concilii fuit habita. Binnius ib. Prefat. ant. concil. Sard.

In Medul.

Angelocrat. in Ep. consil.

For on the contrary, the Council of *Sardica*, having heard *Athanasius* clearing his innocency, received him unto communion, condemning his accusers: Withal they confirm'd the doctrine of the *Nicene* Council, and decreed

creed, that such as defended the contrary thereunto, should not only be deprived of their Bishopricks, but also excluded from the society and communion of the faithful.

Constantius, notwithstanding the decree of this Council of *Sardica*, for the restitution of *Athanasius* unto his Bishoprick, refuseth to admit of him: hereupon his Brother, the Emperour *Constans* writes him a short, but sharp Letter, threatening that if he should still persist to oppose and hinder the return of *Athanasius*, he himself would come with an Army, and whether he would or no, restore him again unto his place. This so far prevailed, that *Constantius* yields, and again and again invites doubtful and delaying *Athanasius* to return, by divers letters written unto him, who at length hearkens and returns accordingly.

The Emperour meeting with him at *Antioch*, gently entreats and confers with him, permitting him with safety to go unto *Alexandria*; withal promising to admit of no more recusations against him, and by his Letters commended him unto the Church of *Alexandria* for his singular piety, exhorting them with all respect to receive him: But before his departure from him, he told him, that the Bishops desired one thing of him, namely, that he would grant one Church in *Alexandria* unto those that dissented from, and could not joyn in communion with him. I am content (quoth he) so to do upon this condition, that the *Arians* will vouchsafe one Church unto the Orthodox in the City of *Antioch*, which the Emperour inclined unto as reasonable,

Osiand. in
Ep. hist. Ec-
cles.

.13. cap. 93.

reasonable; But the *Arians* were altogether
averse from it.

Athanasius, in his way to *Alexandria*, coming unto *Hiernsalem*, prevails with *Maximus* then Bishop of that place, to call a Synod of the Bishops of the neighbouring Countries; wherein they approved of his restitution, and also by their letters signified unto the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Africa*, their joyning in communion with him.

Coming unto *Alexandria*, he is received with exceeding great joy and festivity, as it were in a kind of triumph, where he continued about the space of five years; viz. unto the death of *Constance* the defender of the Orthodox.

Upon his decease, (the inconsistent *Constantius* being sole Emperour) the *Arians* again with might and main fall upon *Athanasius*, perswading the Emperour that he made continual stirrs throughout *Egypt* and *Lybia*, that in his journey he had ordained Bishops and Presbyters without his jurisdiction, and that he had been the Author of dissention, between the Emperour and his Brother.

The credulous Emperour so far hearkens unto these accusations, that he abolisheth the decrees of the Council of *Sardica*, and commands that those Bishops should be deprived and removed from their Churches, whom that Synod had restored: Amongst these, *Athanasius* was the chief, who by an order obtained from the Emperour was to be dispatched and slain: For which end a Captain that was sent with five thousand Soldiers, begins and enters the Church, where by night *Athanasius*

Athan. in apolog. pro fuga sua.

A fourth
same history.

Sozomen.
Hist. Eccles.
3. c. 6.

basius and the people were assembled together. But he in a wonderful manner escapes, passing out among the rest undiscerned by the Soldiers, and flying into the desert of *Lybia*, he abode there until the death of *Constantius*, being about ten years; yet sometimes coming unto *Alexandria* to confirm the Church: Though, as some report, he lay hid all this time in *Alexandria*, in the house of a sacred Virgin.

During the reign of *Constantius*, divers Councils of the Eastern and Western Bishops were convened; as at *Antioch*, *Sardica*, *Sirmium*, *Millain*, *Ariminum*, and *Selencia*: chiefly intended for the promoting of the *Arian* heresie, and against the faith of the *Nicene* Council: which yet succeeded not accordingly, the Eastern being still stoutly opposed by the Western Bishops. In which time also nine several forms or confessions of faith were framed, all differing from that of *Nice*: An evident argument of the distracted condition and state that then the Churches were in.

Upon the departure or withdrawing of *Athanasius*, *George* of *Cappadacia*, a violent *Arian* enters, and like a wolf in a furious madness makes havock of the Church, exercising great cruelties and inflicting grievous tortures upon the Orthodox: who yet (saith *Billius*) was by the *Arians* removed, because he shewed not himself so diligent in maintaining and propagating their doctrine, as they expected.

In Shollis.
in Nazianz.
orat. 31.

But *Julian* the Apostate succeeding *Constantius* in the Empire, (who upon his death-bed bewailed these three things especially:
1. That

Nazianz. Or.
lat. 31.

1. That he had a hand in murdering his kindred. 2. That he had changed the form of the *Nicene* Faith. 3. That he had named *Julian* for his Successor.) In the beginning of his Reign restoreth those Bishops unto their places again, whom *Constantius* had removed: which he did not out of any love unto Religion, but to impair the fame of *Constantius*, and out of a hope he had, that by their dissensions Christianity would suffer and be shaken: Amongst the rest *Athanasius* returns again unto *Alexandria*.

Not long after this, the Magicians and Sorcerers urging and crying out, that nothing could be done by their arts, until *Athanasius*, the great obstacle, were taken out of the way, *Julian* not only banished but also commanded that he should be slain: Hereupon, being about to take ship to shun the danger, and the people of *Alexandria* standing weeping about him; saith he unto them, Be not troubled my Children, *nubecula est cito transitura*: 'tis but a little Cloud, and it will soon pass away: which fell out accordingly.

5. Time
flyeth.

Flying up the River *Nilus* and being closely pursued by some that were sent to apprehend him, those that were with him being greatly afraid, perswaded him in this exigent speedily to get into the desert for his safety: Why are you so much troubled, quoth he: Let us rather go to meet them, that they may know he is greater that defends us, than they that do pursue us. Hereupon they direct their course accordingly, and coming near them (little suspecting any such matter) the pursuers asked them if they had heard where *Athanasius*

nasius was ? who answered, that they had lately seen him passing not far from thence. They followed him therefore as they thought with all the speed they could make, but all in vain, for by this means *Athanasius* escaped their hands and came safe unto *Alexandria*, where he lay hid until the death of *Julian*, who was shortly after slain in a battel against the *Persians*, having reigned only one year and eight months.

In his Room *Jovianus* is by the Army chosen Emperour, a most pious Prince, who reduced from banishment the orthodox Bishops: Among whom for his singular virtues he much admired *Athanasius*, and had him in great esteem, conferring and advising with him about matters of faith, and the right ordering of the Churches: under whom they were like to have been in a very flourishing and happy condition, had not the shortness of his government prevented it, which the space of eight months put a period unto.

After him followed *Valentinian*, who associated with him in the government of the Empire, his Brother *Valens*: these dividing it between them, *Valentinian* had the West, and *Valens* the East for his dominion. This *Valens* did greatly favour the *Arian* faction, in so much as he began to persecute the Orthodox, especially *Athanasius*, (their great eyesore) sending an Officer by force to expel him out of *Alexandria*: *Athanasius* fearing what might ensue hereof, and that stirs and tumults might be raised by the common people, hid himself for about the space of four months in his Fathers monument: The Citizens nevertheless

theless grew so seditious, that to appease and
satisfie them, *Valens*, though unwilling, was
fain to permit *Athanasius* quietly to enjoy his
Bishoprick: which he did (and the Church of
Alexandria peace) unto the end of his days.
The Narration of whose life and sufferings,
let me conclude in the words of *Osiander*. *Non*
volui in recitanda tanti viri. plusquam martyris
historia esse brevior, quia nihil vidi, quod rectè
omitti posset.

Hist. Ecclesi.
cent. 4. lib. 2.
cap. 16.

§ 2. He was a man of such transcendent
worth and every way so excelled, that he was
had in very high esteem and much admired by
all the lovers of piety and sound doctrine: as
appears by the honourable titles given unto
him by divers eminent persons among the An-
cients. I saw (saith the Emperour *Constantine*
the great, in an Epistle unto the *Alexandrians*)
your Bishop *Athanasius* with delight, and so
spake unto him as one whom I believed
to be a man of God. *Nazianzen* styles him
the great Trumpet of truth, a principal Pil-
lar of the Church, the eye of the world, that
second light, and (if we may use the word)
forerunner of Christ, whom praising I shall
praise virtue it self, for in him all virtues meet.
Basil hath recourse unto him, *velut ad univer-*
sorum apicem, quo consultore ac duce actionum
uteretur. A most faithful Master (saith *Vin-*
centius Lyrinensis) and a most eminent confes-
sor. An illustrious and famous man (saith
Cyril of Alexandria) and in the Council of
Nice, one that was had in admiration of all:
(though then but young.) *Theodoret* calls
him the most shining light of the Church of

Theodoret.
hi t. Eccl. l.
i. c. 26.

Orat. 37.

Orat. 33.

Epist. 52.

L. contra he-
res. c. 42.

Epist. 1.

In dialog. 2.

Contra Eu
tychen. l. 2.

Nannius in
ep ante ope-
ra Athanas.

Orat. de vitâ
eius a viro
docto script.

Hyper. de
stud. theol.
l. 1. c. 7.

Nazianz.
Orat. 3^a.

Sext. Senen.
lib 4.

Nazianz ib.

Alexandria, who was among the Bishops thereof, as an Orient pearl, most conspicuous, One most approved in the judgment of all Ecclesiastical men, saith *Vigilius*: A profound, and every way absolute Divine; in so much as he acquired, and accordingly is commonly known by the name of *Athanasius the Great*.

He was for his natural parts more than ordinary, being of a strong and excellent wit, as also of a sharp and piercing judgment; which he cultured and improved by the study of the Liberal Arts, and other Humane Learning; wherein he attained unto a competent measure of skill, although he spent but a small time in them: for he chiefly intended things of an higher nature, applying himself unto diligent Meditation in the Scriptures, viz. all the Books both of the Old and New Testament; by which means he so increased in the riches, not only of knowledge and Divine Contemplation; but also of an egregious and shining conversation, (both which he happily joyned together; being *vir sanctitatis & eruditionis eximie*) as no man more: so that in Learning he went beyond those that were famous for their Learning, and in action the most apt for action; his life and manners were a rule for Bishops, and his Doctrines were accounted as the Law of the Orthodox Faith; a man of great ability to oppose error and to defend the truth. He was adorned with all sorts of virtues, of such gentleness, that the way was open and easie for all to converse with him; free from anger and passion; and very propense unto pity and

and commiseration; withal of most Heroick magnanimity (inkindled in his brest by the holy Ghost) to bear any adversity, and of such invincible courage, that he could not be broken with any blows of persecution: his speech was pleasant, but his manners more; of an Angelical face; yet in his mind more Angelical; he was indeed an exact picture of vertue, and pattern for Bishops; His skill was great in the Management of the affairs of the Church, and an admirable dexterity he had in the composing of differences and distempers, (unto which his Authority conduced much, and was of great advantage) as appears by the addressees that *Basil* made unto him, earnestly imploring his aid: who stiles him their only comfort against those evils, and one ordained by God in the Churches to be the Physician for the curing of their maladies; for which work he was abundantly furnished. In a word, he was as a Maul or Hammer unto the Hereticks (*semper Arianis velut murus obstitit* (*inquit Sulpitius Severus*) *hereticorum ungis* (*inquit Cyrillus Alexandrinus*) *impugnabili quadam & Apostolica prudentia restitit.*) as an Adamant unto his persecutors, and as a loadstone unto such as dissented from him, drawing them unto the truth.

Ep. 49. & 51

Hist. sac. l. 3.

Epist. 1.

De Script.
Eccles.
Sculpt. in
Medullis

§ 3. His works declare him to have been indefatigably industrious, being very many, *pene infinita*, almost infinite, (saith *Tribemius*;) some whereof are generally held to be his, and by the stile are discovered so to be: for they are destitute of those Rhetorical flourishes, so frequently to be found in Na-

Nannius in
ep. ante op.
Athanaf.

Epist. r.

Pratum spi-
ritual. c. 40.

In ep. nuncu-
pat. ante op.
Athanaf.

Cent. 4. c. 10

zianzen, as also of those Philosophical Speculations in the works of *Basil*: which yet (had he made use of them) would have rendred his writings more sweet and succulent: but some of these Arts he shunned as diligently, as he did Heretical opinions; and others of them he useth very sparingly. Nevertheless his labors were had in very great esteem, as may be gathered from the words of *Cyril* who thus speaks of them; *quasi fragrantissimo (inquit) quodam unguento, ipsum calum scriptis suis exhibavit.* And the Abbot *Cosmas* intimates his apprehensions of their worth in these words; when, saith he, thou lightest on any of the works of *Athanasius*, and hast not paper to write on, write it on thy garments. But, as many are genuine, so some under his name are dubious and questionable; and others forged and supposititious. An injury which the best Authors have not escaped, unto whom many books have been ascribed, which were not theirs; but to none more then unto *Athanasius*; *Ue, inquit Nannius, fertilissimis agris multa Zizania una cum optimis frugibus nascuntur; ita optimis cuiq; auctori plurimi falsi & nobis libri adscribuntur; nulli autem plures quam Athanasio.* Indeed as they are now extant, scarce the one half do belong unto him; which *Erasmus* meeting with, he cast them away with indignation, and being full of them, cried out, *ἀλλος δ' εὖρος*: having his fill, and unwilling to meddle more with such stuff. Among other that offered him this wrong were the Nestorian and Eutychian Hereticks (saith *Evagrius*) who set forth

forth divers books of *Apollinarius*, under the name of *Atbanasius*. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 31.

The books extant under his name both of one sort and other, I shall briefly set down in the same order that I find them in the *Parisian* Edition; *Ann.* One thousand six hundred twenty seven, contained in two Tomes. And they are these following.

1. An Oration against the Gentiles.

2. Of the Incarnation of the word of God; (which *Bellarmino* thinks to be those two books against the Gentiles, whereof *Jerom* makes mention:) by himself truly De script. Eccles.

filed the Rudiments or Character of the Faith of Christ; for it contains in it an Epitome of Christian Doctrine most necessary to be known, and not unpleasant to be read. In Catalog. Scult. in Medull.

3. An Exposition of the faith; wherein the Orthodox Doctrine of the Trinity is asserted, and the Heretical refuted. Of this *Bellarmino* makes question whether it be his or no. De script. Eccles.

4. His answer unto an Epistle of *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*: being a Confession of the Faith; but expressed in words very improper; it is also foolish in the allegations of Scripture, and therefore not to be attributed unto him. Bellarm. lib. Perk. prob.

5. An Epistle unto the Emperor *Jovianus*; yet written not by him alone, but by the Synod then assembled at *Alexandria*. Theod. hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 3

6. His disputation against *Arius* in the Council of *Nice*: which plainly appears to be supposititious, by the very inscription;

Rivet. crit.
St. Scultet.
in Medull.

making it to be held. *Ann.* 310. whereas that council was celebrated. *Ann.* Three hundred twenty five. Also the disputation it self saith, that it was held not against *Arius*, but against an *Arian*. Again, it is said in the close of the disputation that *Arius* was hereby converted of him in Ecclesiastical History. Lastly *Arius* herein is made to impugne the Divinity of the holy Ghost, calling him a meer creature: which Heresie he is not charged withal nor was it broached or maintained by him, but brought in by some of his followers. *Bellarmino* knows not whether to stile it a disputation or a Dialogue between *Athanasius* and some *Arian*: nor whether it were written by *Athanasius* or some other.

De script.
Ecles.

7. An enarration of those words of Christ: *Matt.* 11. 27. *All things are delivered unto me of my father, &c.* against *Eusebius* and his followers. I find this,

Sixt. Senens.
lib. 4.
Possevin. in
appar.

Enarration to be much larger in the Latine *Parisian* Edition by *Articus Albulci*: Printed *An.* One thousand five hundred eighty one, then in the Greek and Latine Edition: *Ann.* One thousand six hundred twenty seven, & the former to have annexed unto it a *Compendium*, taken out of the above written, against those who say that the holy Ghost is a creature: which *Compend* is mentioned by the Centurists, *Bellarmino* and *Possevine*.

8. An Epistle, or, as others, an Oration against the *Arians*; unto *Adelphius* a Brother and Confessor.

9. An Epistle, or Oration unto *Maximus* a Philosopher, of the Divinity of Christ: of this

this the Centurists make some question whether it be his or no. Cent. 4. c. 10

10. An Oration or Epistle unto *Serapion* Possev. in ap.
Bishop of *Tbmuis* a City of *Egypt*, ordained
by *Athanasius*, and his familiar friend; who
for the elegancy of his wit was surnamed
Scholasticus.

11. A second Epistle unto the same *Serapion*; both against those that make the holy
Ghost to be a creature. Scul. in med.

12. A third Epistle unto the same Person, In medul.
upon the same subject: which *Sculdetus*
(with *Erasmus*) conceives to be the work
of some idle and witless man, who would
fain imitate *Athanasius* his book unto *Serapion*. It contains a strange heap of places and
confusion of reasons, together with a irksom
repetition of things before spoken of: Besides Rivet. crit. q.
fac.
the Author cites a place out of the Prophet
Micah which is no where to be found: it's
therefore ranked, and justly; among the sus-
pected works of *Athanasius* by the Centurists
and Mr. *Perkins*.

13. Certain testimonies out of the Sacred
Scriptures, concerning the natural Commu-
nion of the (Divine) essence between the Scul. in
medul.]
Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost: Col-
lected not by *Athanasius*, but some other, as
appears in that the compiler hath transcribed
divers things *verbatim* out of the questions
unto *Antiochus*, whereof *Athanasius* is not the
Author.

14. An Epistle, shewing that the Council of
Nice, well perceiving the craftiness of *Eusebius*,
did in congruous and pious words, expound
their decrees against the *Arian* Heretic.

15. Five

Photius in
Biblioth.

15. Five Orations against the *Arians*; wherein he useth great strength of Argument, fortified with clear testimonies and demonstrations from the Sacred Scripture. So that these alone may abundantly suffice for the confutation of all Arianism: yea he that shall say, that *Gregory* the Divine, and *Basil* the Great did from this fountain derive those egregious and pure streams of their books against the same Heresie, verily he shall not say amiss.

16. An Epistle, concerning the Opinion of *Dionysius* sometime Bishop of *Alexandria*; wherein he proves the *Arians* did belie him, in affirming that he was an assertor of their opinion.

17. An Epistle unto all the brethren every where throughout *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*: ranked among those that are suspected.

Cent. 4.c. 10.
Perk. prob.

18. A refutation of the Hypocrisie of *Meletius*, *Eusebius*, and *Paulus Samosatenus*, concerning the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son: it's suspected.

Ibid.

19. An Epistle unto the *Antiochians*, which seems to be a fragment of some intire book.

Scult. in
Medull.

20. An epistle unto *Epictetus* Bishop of *Corinth*, against the Apollinarians, it is the most famous among all his Epistles.

The Orthodox in the time of *Cyril* of *Alexandria* made much use of it, in confuting the heresie of *Nestorius*, to avoid the dint and force thereof those hereticks did boldly adulterate it, subtracting some things and putting in other, that it might seem to favour of the doctrine

doctrine of Nestorius. So much Cyril gives us to understand, his words are these. *Cognovimus quod celeberrimi patris nostri Athanasii ad beatum Episcietum epistolam, orthodoxè loquentem, nonnulli a se corruptam ediderunt, ita ut hinc multi ledantur.* Epist. 28. Again, speaking of this Epistle: *Quia ex eâ (inquit) Nestorius arguebatur, cum legentes eam defensores rectæ fidei cobiberent, etiam eos qui probantur similia sentire Nestorio, correptionem suæ confutationis ex eâ impii formidantes, machinati sunt acerbissimum quiddam, et heretica pravitæ dignissimum.* Prefatam namque adulterant epistolam, sublati ex eâ quibusdam, aliis suppositis ediderunt, ita ut putaretur ille similia Nestorio sapuisse, in. Epist. ad successum Episcopum posteriori.

21. A Sermon of the incarnation of the Word of God against *Paulus Samosatenus*, it's Cent. 4. c. 19, doubted of whether it be his or no.

22. A Sermon or Tome of the humane nature, assumed by the only begotten Word, against the *Arians* and *Apollinarius*.

23. An Epistle or Treatise of the incarnation of Christ against *Apollinarians*.

24. An oration or treatise of the healthful coming of Christ, against *Apollinarius*; it is perplex, intricate, and obscure: and by *Cook* Scultet. in Medull. centur. patr. it is thought to be supposititious. The Sermons against *Apollinarius* do excel in grace and ornament, say the Centurists.

25. An oration of the eternal substance of the Son and holy Spirit of God, against the company or followers of *Sabellius*.

26. An oration that Christ is one,

27. An Epistle unto *Serapion* concerning the death of *Arius*.

28. An

28. An Apology unto the Emperour *Constantius*, wherein he freeth himself from divers imputations, and defends his flight into the Wilderness.

29. An Apology for his flight.

30. Another Apology for his flight, wherein he professeth his innocency.

31. An Epistle unto the *Africans*, which is Apologetical.

Sculptet. in
Medull.

32. A Catholick Epistle unto the Bishops of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*; exhorting them to leave the *Arians*, and to joyn with the Orthodox.

Sculptet. in
Medull.

33. An Epistle unto all those, who any where do profess or lead a solitary life. The former part whereof only (*viz.* from the beginning unto those words, The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, *Amen.*) is the Epistle unto the Monks; and ought to be placed before the five orations against the *Arians*, as a dedicatory Epistle unto those Books. The following part thereof is without doubt a fragment (suspected whether his or no) of some other work, wanting a beginning; to make up which defect, that Epistle was added unto it. Herein he recounts his own and the Church's calamities. *Athanasius ipse (inquit Possévinus) labores & persecutiones suas ubere epistolâ ad solitariam vitam agentes ob oculos ponit, quamobrem et illam perlegisse neminem penitebit.*

Perkins. problem.

In apparat.

Sculptet. in
Medull.

34. The protestation of the people of *Alexandria*, *ferè nihil continet ἀξιόλογον.*

35. An epistle concerning the Synods held at *Ariminum* in *Italy* and *Seleucia* in *Isauria*; wherein is set forth the levity and inconsistency of the *Arians* there present, in the matter of the

the faith. This *Bellarmino* supposeth may well be taken for his book against *Valens* and *Ursatius* (mentioned by *Jerom*) two *Arian* Bishops, who (saith *Marianus*) deceived the Fathers in those Synods, faining themselves Orthodox.

De script.
Eccles.

In catalog.
In Schol. in
Hieronym.
catalog.

An Epistle of *Athanasius* and ninety Bishops of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, unto the Bishops in *Africa* against the *Arians*: wherein the decrees of the Council of *Nice* are defended, and the Synod of *Ariminum* is shewn to be superfluous, that of *Nice* being sufficient.

37. An Epistle unto all the Orthodox wherever, when persecution was by the *Arians* raised against them.

38. An Epistle unto *John* and *Antiochus* two Presbyters; also another unto *Palladius*, *nihil continent* ἄξιόλογον

39. An Epistle unto *Dracontius*, whom flying away, he by divers arguments perswades to return unto the Church of *Alexandria*, whereof he was Bishop elect, and that he would not hearken unto those that would deter him from so doing: It is (saith *Espenceus*) a learned Epistle.

Sculdet. In
Medull.

Sculdet. ibid.

In 1 Timoth.
digress. l. 2.
c. 4.

40. An Epistle unto *Marcellinus*, concerning the interpretation of the Psalms, which seems to be the same that *Jerom* calls; of the Titles of the Psalms: tiled by *Sixtus Senensis* thus: *In Psalterium Davidis ad Marcellinum de titulis et vi psalmorum, Isagogicus libellus*. Of which *Cassiodorus* thus: *Testis est (inquit) Athanasii, episcopi sermo magnificus, qui virtutes psalmorum indagabili veritate discentiens, omnia illic esse probat, quaecunque sancta scriptura ambitu continentur*. It is by Mr. *Perkins*

Bellar. de
script. Eccles.

In Biblioth.
lib. 4.

put

In conclus.
comment. in
Pſalm.

Perutilem
ſanè libel-
lum dedit A-
thanaſius in
quouſum et
finem quo-
rumcunque
pſalmorum
compen-
dioſè mon-
ſtravit.

Hyper. dera-
tion. ſtud.
Theol. in
præparat. ad
demonſtrat-
problem.

Perkins, ib.
cent. 4. c. 10.
et Coci cenſ.

Sculter. in
Medull.

Perkins pro-
blem.

Rivet. crit.
ſac.

In biblioth.
lib. 4.

Sculter. in
Medull.

Coci cenſur.

put among the ſuſpected works.

41. A treatiſe of the Sabbath and Circum-
ciſion, in the Latine Pariſian Edition, *Anno*
1581. It is joyned as his enarration upon
 thoſe words, *Matth. 11. 27. All things are de-*
 livered unto me of my Father, &c. being the
 ſeventh in this Catalogue. Unto which is
 added in the ſame Latine Edition, a *Compen-*
 dium of what had been formerly written a-
 gainſt thoſe who affirm the Holy Ghoſt to be
 a creature.

42. Upon thoſe words, *Matth. 12. 32.*
 Whoſoever ſpeaketh againſt the Son of man, &c.
 ſuſpected.

43. A Sermon upon the paſſion and croſs
 of the Lord: the phraſe (ſaith *Erasmus*) fa-
 voureth not of *Athanaſius*: Alſo it altogether
 forbids oaths which *Athanaſius* doth not: It
 is therefore ſuppoſititious. Herein alſo the
 queſtions unto *Antiochus* are cited; which are
 not of this Author. Beſides the Author fool-
 iſhly makes Chriſt to feign words of humane
 frailty, when hanging upon the Croſs he ſo
 cryed out, *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani*: which
 yet, the true *Athanaſius* ſaith, were truly ſpo-
 ken of him according to his humane nature.
 Sixtus Senenſis calls it *eloquentiſſimam concio-*
 nem.

44. A Sermon upon *Matth. 23. 2. Go into*
 the village over againſt you, &c. It ſeems to
 be a fragment taken out of ſome other work
 or commentary: wherein the Author (as play-
 ing with them) wreſteth the Scriptures, ſaith
 Erasmus, it is forged.

45. A Sermon of the moſt holy Virgin,
 the Mother of God or of the Annunciation:

it is evidently spurious: for the Author is large in refuting the error of *Nestorius*, and presseth the Monothelites, both which errors were unknown, as not sprung up in the time of *Athanasius*. The Author also lightly and almost childishly derives the word *σοία* from the word *ἰσος*: and moreover saith, that the attributes of God are not the very substance of God, *sed circa substantiam versari*, which is discrepant from the manner of *Athanasius*, who is wont to speak very considerably. It appears by many passages that the Author hereof lived after the sixth general Council.

Bellarmin. de script. Eccles. Scultet. in Medull. et Rivet. in crit. sac.

46. Of Virginity, a Sermon or Meditation it is dubious: If it be of *Athanasius's* penning, he did (saith *Erasmus*) strangely let fall his stile, and I may add (saith *Scultetus*) that he also laid aside his Theological gravity, if he prescribed those childish rules unto a Virgin, which (saith the Author) whoso observeth shall be found among the third order of Angels, and also teacheth that no man can be assured of his salvation before his death.

Perkins. pro. blem. Scultet. in Medull.

47. An homily of the sower; it is suspected as being found only in an English book.

Perkins pro. blem. Scultet. in Medull.

48. A Sermon against all heresies, it is none of his but some doting fellow, *est vilis et confusus ut plurimum*.

Scultet. in Medull. Co. ci censur. Rivet. crit. Sac.

49. An oration of the ascension of Christ, which because of the flourishing stile thereof, *Scultetus* is scrupulous to ascribe it unto *Athanasius*.

In Medull.

50. An oration or history of *Melchisedech*, in the end whereof, the Author speaks of the fathers of the *Nicene* Council, as dead long before; it's therefore spurious.

Ibid.

51. A brief oration against the *Arians*. I find no where mentioned, but in the Parisian edition by *Nannius*.

Perkins problem.

52. The declaration of *Leviticus*, it is suspected.

53. Short colloquies between *Jovianus* and certain *Arians* against *Athanasius*. Allo.

Symbolum
hoc vulgò
tribui solet
Athanasio:
certè cum
Athanasii
scriptis, im-
primis verò
sacris literis
per omnia
conveniens
est, Pelarg. in
Symbol. A-
than. in Me-
dull.

54. Of the incarnation of the Word of God both which are no where to be found, but in the last Parisian edition.

In Symbol.
Athanas.
Athanasii
doctrina et
scriptorum
omnium
summa in
symbola
comprehen-
sa est. Chy-
træus. de
Rud. Theol.
Sculdet. in
Medull.

55. The Symbol or Creed of *Athanasius*, by *Sculdetus* judged to be dubious, he having met with it in no book among the works of *Athanasius*, only in one it is read without the name of the Author. It hath been a great dispute among the learned (saith *Pelargus*) whose it should be: Some ascribing it unto *Athanasius*, and others unto some later Author as yet unknown.

56. An Epistle of *Jovianus* the Emperour unto *Athanasius*, and *Athanasius* his answer thereunto.

57. An Epistle unto *Ammun* a Monk, it is dubious.

58. A fragment of a festival Epistle, containing a catalogue of the canonical books of the old and new Testament, it is dubious, I believe it (saith *Sculdetus*) to have been taken out of his *Synopsis*.

59. An Epistle unto *Ruffinianus*.

Ibid.

cent. 4. c. 10.

60. Theological definitions, said to be collected by *Clement* and other holy men: It is supposititious and by *Sculdetus* ranked among those which seem to be written with no judgment. It seems not to have been of *Athanasius* his writing, because therein *Gregory Nyssene*

Bellar. de
script. Eccl.

is cited, who (in all likelyhood) had not begun to write, till after the death of *Athanasius*. Besides the Author speaks so distinctly of the two Natures of Christ in one *Hypostasis*, that it seems to be altogether of a later date than the Council of *Chalcedon*.

61. A brief Synopsis or Compendium of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; Wherein, first, he sets down a Catalogue of the Canonical and Non-canonical books. Secondly, he shews by whom each was written, whence it had its name, and what it doth contain. Thirdly, he names the books of both Testaments that are contradicted or accounted *Apocryphal*.

Scul. in Medul.

62. Five Dialogues of the Trinity. Also,

63. Twenty Sermons against divers Heresies; which are Pious and Learned, and therefore most worthy to be read. The phrase shews them to have been both written by the same Author; not *Athanasius*, but one *Maximus* a very Learned Man, many years after the death of *Athanasius*. *Sculietus* tells us that he hath seen the name of *Maximus* upon a certain old Parchment, in which these Dialogues were wrapt up. This *Maximus* was a *Constantinopolitane* Monk, who lived in the time of Pope *Honorius* a *Monothelite*, and died, *Ann.* Six hundred fifty seven. The Catalogue of whose book mentioned by *Photius*, or which are in the *Vaticane* Library, contains divers that have the very same title, with those which are inserted among the works of *Athanasius*.

Scul. in Medul.

Rivet. Crit. Sac.

64. A book of divers questions of the Sacred Scripture, unto King *Antiochus*: which appears to be supposititious, because: first, *Athanasius* himself is therein cited, *quest.* 23. and that under the name of *Athanasius* the Great, which would have argued too much arrogance: Secondly, Many things are to be found therein which are dissonant from the judgment of *Athanasius*. Thirdly, The Mystical Theology of *Dionysius Areopagita* is alledged therein, which I suppose (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) was altogether unknown in the time of *Athanasius*: he conjectures it to have been collected out of the writings of the Fathers by some studious man. Fourthly, The questions are variously reckoned; in some Copies there being only fourty and six; in others one hundred sixty and two. Fifthly, *Gregory Nazianzen* is twice named in it: Also, there are cited *Gregory Nyssen* and *Epiphanius* as ancient authors: yet was *Athanasius* before them: also *Cbrysoftom*, *Scala Johannis*, *Maximus*, *Nicephorus*, &c. all of them juniors unto *Athanasius*. Sixthly, Yea, *quest.* 108. the *Romans* are said to be a kind of *Franks*; whence he evidently appears to be a late author: for all those of the West are called *Franks* in the *Turks* Dominions. *Luce ergò clarius est (inquit Cocus) libellum hunc filium esse populi, nec novisse parentem suum.* Yet is the authority hereof urged by many of the Romanists to prove, that there are nine orders of Angels, that the Saints departed do know all things, images lawful, distinction of sins, orders of Monks, necessity of baptism, Sacrament of penance, prayer for
- Bellar. de
scrip. Eccles.
- Cent 4 c. 10.
- In bibli. 1. 4
- Possevin. in
apparat.
- Bellar. de
scrip. Eccles.
- In censur.
- Jam. of the
corrupt. of
the Fathers.

for the dead, Antichrist to be a certain person, the sacrifice of the Altar, &c.

65. Questions of the words and interpretations of the Evangelical parables: they are supposititious; for they are gathered out of *Cbrysoftom*, *Cyril of Alexandria* and *Gregory Nyssen*; their very names being expressed. River. Crit. Sac.

66. Certain other Anonymous questions which appear to be spurious: in all likelihood the work of some late Greek; for in them the procession of the holy Ghost from the Son is denied. Ibid.

67. The life of *Antony the Monk*; That such a narration was written by *Atbanasius* both *Nazianzen* and *Jerome* do affirm: But that this now extant should be the same, believe it who will; I doubt not, saith *Scultetus*, but that it is the figment of some foolish man; for endeavoring to shew how in the whole course of his life, *Antony* imitated Christ, he talks childishly and ridiculously: and there are many things in it, saith *Tossanus*, that are fabulous, and savour not of the gravity and simplicity of *Atbanasius*. Besides, some report *Antony* to have been a Lawyer and very learned; but this Author makes him altogether illiterate. But that this is an Ancient Legend, appears from hence, that *Damascen* cites a place out of it: Yet is it but a Fable and no more, notwithstanding all *Bellarmines* vain confidence to the contrary. In vitâ Athanasii in Catalog.
In Medull.
In Synopsi.
De script. Eccles.

68. A Sermon in *Parascenen*, or the preparation, which I find no where mentioned, but in the *Parisian* Edition by *Nannius*: only

Possevine faith; that it was first set forth in Greek and Latine in the *Antwerp* Edition.

69. Certain fragments of *Athanasius* upon the *Psalms* taken out of *Nicetas* his *Catena*: with some other, out of other Authors.

*Possevin. in
appar. Scul. in med.
Riv. crit. fac.
Bellar. de
scrip. Eccles.*

70. Eleven books of the united Deity of the Trinity: others reckon but seven: they are found only in Latine; and seem to have been written in that Language, and not Translated out of the Greek; as appears partly from the Stile; and partly because the Author tells us how those things are expressed by the Greeks, which he wrote in Latine; he also confutes one *Urbicus Potentinus*, a disciple or follower of *Eunomius*; which *Athanasius* could not do.

*Bellar. de
scrip. Eccles.
Riv. crit. fac.*

71. A disputation concerning the Faith held at *Laodicea*, between *Athanasius* and *Arius*: it is clearly Commentitious and Counterfeit; nor can it be a true disputation between those two; for *Athanasius* is here brought in as a Deacon disputing in the second year of *Constantius*: whereas it appears that *Athanasius* was made Bishop long before, viz. In the one and twentieth year of *Constantine* the Great: and *Arius* infamously died in the one and thirtieth year of the same Emperor who therefore could not dispute in the Reign of *Constantius*. 2. Herein is mention made of *Photinus*, the Heretick, as if from him *Arius* had Learned his Heresie; whereas *Photinus* was after *Arius*: It seems rather to be that Dialogue which was written by *Vigilius* Bishop of *Trent*, against *Sabellius*,
Photinus

Photinus and *Arius*; which he therefore set forth under the name of *Athanasius*, that, saith he, persons present might seem to deal with those that were present.

Vigil. l. 5.
adver. Eury.
Raynolds de
libris Apoc.
pralect. 22.
P. r. k. prob.

72. An exhortation unto the Monks; It is forged.

73. An Epistle unto Pope *Mark*, for the exemplars of the *Nicene* Council; with the answer of *Mark* thereunto; both which without doubt are supposititious: for this *Mark* was dead at that time, when, as 'tis pretended, this answer was written; also, at this time was *Athanasius* in banishment in *France*; and so could not write from *Alexandria*: So that both these Epistles, and also the seventy pretended Canons of the Council of *Nice* contained in them, are none other then a meer forgery.

Cent. 4. c. 10.

Possev. in ap.
Bennius in
notis in hag.
ep. tom. 1.
concil.

74. A Sermon upon the passion of our Saviour; which is a meer patch, taken almost *verbatim*, out of the Sermon upon the same subject; being the fourth in this Catalogue.

75. Of the passion of the image of Christ Crucified at *Beryth* in *Syria*: It favors of the Golden Legend; And that it cannot be the work of *Athanasius*, may evidently appear from the title that Anciently was wont to be prefixed hereunto: which was this: *D. Athanasii Archiepiscopi Alexandrini, de passione imaginis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qualiter crucifixus est in Syria, in urbe quae Berythus dicitur temporibus Constantini senioris & Irenae uxoris ejus.* Now it is known unto all, that *Athanasius* was dead some Centuries of years, before the reign of those two abovementioned.

Coci censur.

In Chronico.

In

Treat. of the

Fathers, c. 3.

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ed. This Fable is by *Sigebert* referred unto the year, Seven hundred sixty five, about which time the question about worshipping of images was agitated. It must needs therefore be the work of some later Author, (saith the Learned *Daille*) so tasteless a piece, and so unworthy the gallantry and clearness of that great wit, that he must be thought, not to have common sense that can find in his heart to attribute it unto him.

76. A fragment taken out of *Athanasius*, concerning the Observation of *Sabbaths*.

Unto these there are added seven homilies more (never before extant) by *Lucas Holsteinius*, out of the *French Kings*, the *Vatican*, and *Oxford Libraries*; and they are these following.

1. Of the taxing of the *Virgin Mary*; upon *Luke* 2. 1.

2. Upon *Matth.* 21. 2. Upon which text we had an Homily before, viz. the 41. in this Catalogue.

Lectione
vol. 3. edit.
Paris.

3. Upon *Luke* 19. 36. which with the former *Holstein* verily believes to be of *Athanasius*.

Ibid.

4. Upon the Treason of *Judas*: which, as also the following, hath the Character of *Athanasius* by *Photius*.

5. Upon the holy *Pascha*; which, of all, is the best and most Elegant.

Ibid.

6. Upon the man that was born blind, *John* 9. 1. which, together with the following hath nothing of *Athanasius* in it; (*nec vola nec vestigium*) but the title only.

7. Upon

7. Upon the Fathers and Patriarchs : a most foolish, rustick and barbarous piece. They may all well be conceived to be of very small credit, having lain so long dormant.

Also certain Commentaries upon the Epistles of *Paul*, are by some ascribed unto *Athanasius* ; which yet are not his, but *Theophylact's*. Trithem. de scrip. Eccles. Bellar. de scrip. Eccles.

Some of his works are lost, of which the Names or Titles are these that follow.

1. Commentaries upon the whole book of *Psalms* ; which I think (saith *Holstein*) to be *Palmarium Athanasii opus* ; the chief of *Athanasius* his works. Sixt. Senens. 1. 4. ib. ubi. suprâ.

2. Upon *Ecclesiastes*.

Phot. in biblioth.

3. Upon the *Canticles*.

4. A Volum upon *John*.

Sixt Senens. lib. 4.

§ 4. *Athanasius* hath a peculiar stile or manner of speech ; making use of words which were known only unto the age wherein he lived, and neither before nor after : The subject, whereof he for the most part treateth, being very high, viz. of the Trinity : of the Son begotten of the Father before all time, equal unto him, but distinct in person from him, &c. Yet making use of terms very apt to express those hidden and mysterious things by, which cannot well be rendered in the Latine or other Tongue, without loss or lessning the grace of them, such are, ὁμοσία, ὁμοιωσία, μετρία, ὑπόστασις, βελτίωσις, ὕψις, λόγος, &c. He shunneth all flourish, and expresseth the Mysteries of

Nannius in ep. ante op. Athanas.

Anonym. in
vitâ ejus.
Photius, in
biblioth.

the Kingdom of God in Evangelical words. In his speech he useth much simplicity, gravity and energy; and (saith *Erasmus*) he is wonderful in teaching. He is most plain in his Commentaries, yet in all his writings perspicuous, sober and candid: in his five books against *Arius* vehement and profound, managing his arguments very strongly: moreover so fruitful is he and abundant, as is indeed very admirable. But his Epistles (especially those, wherein by way of Apology he excuseth his flight) are both elegant and splendid, and composed with much clearness, flourishing with such neatness and force of perswasion, that it is pleasant to hear how he pleads for himself.

§ 5. Many are the memorable and worthy passages that are to be found in his works; for a taste I shall present you with these that follow,

1. His Symbol or Creed: every where received and recited in the Churches, both of the East and West: it was so famous and generally approved of, that it was embraced with an unanimous consent as the distinguishing Character between the Orthodox and Hereticks. *Nazianzen* calls it a magnificent and princely gift. *Imperatori, inquit, donum verè regium & magnificum offert, Scriptam nimirum fidei confessionem adversus novum dogma nusquam in Scripturâ expressum: ut sic & Imperatorem Imperator, & doctrinam doctrina, & libellum libellus frangeret atq; opprimeret.* It is as it were an interpretation of those words of Christ, *John 17. 3. This is life eternal.*

Anonym. in
vitâ ejus.
In Orat. 31.

eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent: And may be divided into these two parts: 1. Θεογνωσία. 2. Χριστογνωσία. Athanasius (saith Doctor Andrews in his speech against Mr. Trask) was great for his Learning, for his Vertue, for his Labors, for his sufferings, but above all Great for his Creed.

Pelarg. in
Symbol.
Athanas.

The words whereof are these.

Whosoever will be saved; before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith: which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

And the Catholick faith is this;

That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity. Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance. For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghost is all one; the glory equal, the Majesty Coeternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the holy Ghost. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the holy Ghost uncreate. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the holy Ghost incomprehensible. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the holy Ghost eternal. And yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal. As also, there are not three incomprehensibles,

hensibles, nor three uncreated ; but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible. So likewise, the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the holy Ghost Almighty ; and yet they are not three Almighties, but one Almighty. So, the Father is God, the Son is God, and the holy Ghost is God ; and yet they are not three Gods, but one God. So likewise, the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the holy Ghost Lord ; and yet not three Lords, but one Lord. For like as we be compelled by the Christian verity, to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord : so are we forbidden by the Catholick Religion, to say there be three Gods, or three Lords.

The Father is made of none, neither created, nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone ; not made, nor created, but begotten. The holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son ; neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. So there is one Father, not three Fathers ; one Son, not three Sons ; one holy Ghost, not three holy Ghosts. And in this Trinity, none is afore, or after other, none is greater, or less than another. But the whole three Persons be co-eternal together, and coequal. So that in all things as is aforesaid the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped. He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.

Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation ; that he also believe rightly in the
incarnation

incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the right faith is, that we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man. God of the substance of the Father begotten before the worlds: and Man of the substance of his Mother, born in the world. Perfect God, and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul, and humane flesh subsisting. Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead: and inferior to the Father, touching his manhood. Who though he be God and Man, yet is he not two but one Christ. One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh; but by taking the manhood into God. One altogether; not by confusion of substance; but by unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one Man; so God and Man is one Christ.

Who suffered for our salvation; descended into hell; rose again the third day from the dead: He ascended into heaven; he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty: from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies; and shall give account for their own works; And they that have done good, shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire. This is the Catholick Faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

As for the censures annexed hereunto, viz.

1. In

1. In the beginning (except a man keep the Catholick faith.) 2. In the middle (he that will be saved must thus think.) and 3. In the end (this is the Catholick faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved.) I thought good to give you Dr. *Hammond's* apprehensions of them, how they ought to be understood: His words are these. I suppose (saith he) they must be interpreted by their opposition to those heresies that had invaded the Church, and which were acts of carnality in them that broach'd and maintain'd them against the apostolick doctrine, and contradictory to that foundation which had been resolved on as necessary to bring the world to the obedience of Christ, and were therefore to be anathematiz'd after this manner, and with detestation branded, and banished out of the Church. Not that it was hereby defined to be a damnable sin to fail in the understanding or believing the full matter of any of those explications before they were propounded, and when it might more reasonably be deemed not to be any fault of the will, to which this were imputable. Thus he.

In his treatise of Fundamentals.

2. The canonical books of the old and new Testament owned by him, are the same with those which the reformed Churches acknowledge for such, of which he thus speaks. All scripture of us who are Christians was divinely inspired. The books thereof are not infinite but finite, and comprehended in a certain Canon, which having set down of the Old Testament, (as they are now with us) he adds, the Canonical books therefore of the Old Testament

In Synopsi.

flament are twenty and two, equal for number unto the Hebrew Letters or alphabet, for so many elements of Letters there are among the Hebrews. But (saith he) besides these there are other books of the Old Testament not Canonical, which are read only unto the *Catechumens*, and of these he names, the Wisdom of *Solomon*, the Wisdom of *Iesus* the Son of *Syrach*, the fragment of *Esther*, *Judith*, and *Tobit*, for the books of the *Maccabees* he made no account of them, yet he afterward mentions four books of the *Maccabees* with some others. He also reckons the Canonical Books of the New Testament, which (saith he) are as it were certain sure anchors and supporters or pillars of our Faith, as having been written by the Apostles of Christ themselves, who both conversed with him, and were instructed by him.

Whitak. de script. Apocryph. q. 1. c. 6.

3. The sacred and divinely inspired Scriptures (saith he) are of themselves sufficient for the discovery of the truth: In the reading whereof this is faithfully to be observed, *viz.* unto what times they are directed, to what person, and for what cause they are written: lest things be severed from their reasons, and so the unskilful, reading any thing different from them, should deviate from the right understanding of them.

Orat. contra idola, et or. 2. contra Arian.

4. As touching the way whereby the knowledge of the Scriptures may be attained, he thus speaks. To the searching and true understanding of the Scriptures, there is need of a holy life, a pure mind, and virtue which is according to Christ, that the mind running thorow that path, may attain unto those things which

Lib. de incarnatione, verbis Dei.

which it doth desire, as far as humane nature may understand things divine.

5. The holy Scripture (saith he) doth not contradict it self, for unto a hearer desirous of truth, it doth interpret it self.

Epist. ad Adelphium.

6. Concerning the worshipping of Christ, we adore (saith he) not the Creature, God forbid. Such madness belongs unto *Ebionicks* and *Arians*, but we adore the Lord of things created, the incarnate Word of God, for although the Flesh be in it self a part of things created, yet is it made the Body of God: Neither yet do we give adoration unto such a body by it self severed from the word, neither adoring the Word do we put the Word far from the Flesh, but knowing that it is said, *the Word was made Flesh*, we acknowledge it even now in the Flesh to be God.

Orat. 4. contra Arian.

7. He gives this interpretation of those words of Christ, *Mark*, 13. 32. *But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the Angels which are in heaven, neither the Son but the Father.* The Son (saith he) knew it as God but not as man: wherefore he said not, neither the Son of God, lest the divinity should seem to be ignorant, but simply, neither the Son: that this might be the ignorance of the Son as man. And for this cause when he speaks of the Angels, he added not a higher degree saying, neither the Holy Spirit, but was silent here, by a double reason affirming the truth of the thing: for admit that the Spirit knows, then much more the Word as the Word (from whom even the Spirit receives) was not ignorant of it.

8. Speaking of the mystery of the two natures

tures in Christ; What need is there (saith he) of dispute and strife about words? it's more profitable to believe, and reverence: and silently to adore. I acknowledge him to be true God from heaven impassible: I acknowledge the same of the seed of *David* as touching the Flesh, a man of the earth passible. I do not curiously inquire why the same is passible and Impassible, or why God and man: lest being curiously inquisitive why and how, I should miss of the good propounded unto us. For we ought first to believe and adore, and in the second place to seek from above a reason of these things: not from beneath to inquire of Flesh and Blood, but from divine and heavenly revelation.

9. What the faith of the Church was concerning the Trinity, he thus delivers. Let us see that very tradition from the beginning, and that Doctrine and Faith of the Catholick Church which Christ indeed gave, but the Apostles preached and kept: For in this Church are we founded, and whoso falls from thence cannot be said to be a Christian. The holy and perfect Trinity therefore in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, receives the reason of the Deity, possesseth nothing forraign or superinduced from without, nor consisteth of the Creator and Creature, but the whole is of the Creator and Maker of all things, like it self and indivisible, and the operation thereof one. For the Father by the Word in the holy Spirit doth all things, and so the unity of the Trinity is kept or preserved, and so one God in the Church is preached, who is above all and through all and in all: viz. above all as the Father,

In orat.
Christum
esse unum.

Ep. ad Serap.
Sp. S. non esse
creaturam.

Father, as the beginning and fountain, but through all by the Word, moreover in all in or by the holy Spirit. But the Trinity is not in name only, or an empty form of speech: but in truth and reason of subsisting, the Trinity: For as the Father is that very thing that he is, so also the Word God over all, is that very thing that he is; so also the Holy Ghost is not any inessential thing, but truly existeth and subsisteth.

Ep. ad Orthodox. in persecut.

10. According to the Ecclesiastical Canons (saith he) as the Apostle commanded, the people being gathered together with the Holy Ghost, who constitute a Bishop, publicly and in the presence of the Clergy, craving a Bishop, inquisition ought to be made, and so all things canonically performed.

Apolad Imperat. Constantium.

11. Concerning the lawfulness of flight in time of persecution, he thus speaks. I took me to flight not for fear of death, lest any should accuse me of timidity, but that I might obey the precept of our Saviour whose command it is that we should make use of flight against persecutors, of hiding places against those that search for us, lest if we should offer our selves unto open danger, we should more sharply provoke the fury of our persecutors. Verily it is all one both for a man to kill himself, and to proffer himself unto the enemies to be slain: but he that flees as the Lord commands, knows the Articles of the time, and truly provides for his persecutors: lest being carried out even to the shedding of blood, they should become guilty of that precept that forbids murder. Again concerning the same thing;

12. That

12. That law (saith he) is propounded unto all in general, to flee when they are pursued in time of persecution, and to hide themselves when they are sought: for neither should they be precipitate and rash in tempting the Lord, but must wait until the time appointed of dying do come, or that the Judge do determine something concerning them, as shall seem good unto him: But yet would he have us always ready, when either the time calls for it, or we are apprehended to contend for the Church even unto death. These things did the blessed Martyrs observe, who while they lay hid did harden themselves, but being found out they did undergo Martyrdom. Now if some of them did render themselves unto their persecutors, they were not thorough rashness moved so to do, but every where professed unto all men, that this promptness and offering of themselves did proceed from the Holy Ghost.

13. He giveth this character of an heretick, Heretic (saith he) or an heretick may thus be known and evinced, that whosoever is dear unto them and a companion with them in the same impiety, although he be guilty of sundry crimes & infinite vices, & they have arguments against him of his hainous acts; yet is he approved and had in great esteem among them, yea, and is forthwith made the Emperour's friend, &c. But those that reprove their wickedness, and sincerely teach the things which are of Christ, though pure in all things, upon any feigned Crime laid to their charge, they are presently hurried into Banishment.

Epist. ad Gal.
litar. vit. a-
gentes.

§ 6. The defects and blemishes of this eminent Father and Champion of Jesus Christ, were neither so many nor so gross, as are to be found in most of the Ancients that were before him: yet was he not altogether free but liable to error as well as others, as appears from somewhat of this kind that dropt from his pen, which were especially such passages as these in his genuine works, for as for the apparently supposititious, I shall forbear to meddle with them, having in them so much hay and stubble as we cannot imagine should pass thorow the hands of so skilful a Master-builder.

Epist. de incarnat. Christi advers. Apollinar.

1. He affirms the local descent of Christ into Hell. He accomplished (saith he) the condemnation of sin in the earth, the abolition of the curse upon the Cross, the redemption from corruption in the Grave, the condemnation of death in Hell: Going through all places that he might every where perfect the salvation of the whole man, shewing himself in the form of our image which he took upon him.

Ibid.

Again. The body descended not beyond the grave, the Soul pierced into Hell, places severed by a vast distance; the Grave receiving that which was corporeal, because the body was there, but Hell, that which was incorporeal. Hence it came to pass that though the Lord were present there incorporeally, yet was he by death acknowledged to be a man: that his Soul, not liable unto the bands of death but yet made as it were liable, might break asunder the bands of those Souls which Hell detained, &c.

2. Con-

Tractat. de
Solut. Ad-
vent. Christi.

2. Concerning the state of the Fathers before Christ, that they were in Hell; he thus speaks. The Soul of *Adam* detained in or under the condemnation of death, did perpetually cry unto the Lord, and the rest who by the law of nature pleased God, were detain'd together with *Adam*, and were and did cry with him in grief. In which passage we have also a third error of his, viz.

3. That men by the law of nature may please God, contrary unto what we find in *Heb. 11. 6.*

4. He maketh circumcision a note or sign of Baptism. *Abraham* (saith he) when he had believed God, received circumcision for a note or sign of that regeneration which is obtained by Baptism: wherefore, when the thing was come which was signified by the figure, the sign and figure it self perished and ceased. For circumcision was a sign, but the laver of regeneration the very thing that was signified.

In Enar. in
Mat. 11. 27

Besides these there are in him some other passages, not so aptly nor warily delivered as they ought to have been, viz.

1. Concerning the freedom of mans will, he thus speaks. The mind (saith he) is free and at it's own dispose, for it can, as incline it self unto that which is good, so also turn from it, which beholding its free right and power over it self, it perceives that it can use the members of the Body either way, both unto the things that are, i. e. good things, and also unto the things that are not, i. e. evil.

Orat. contra
idola.

2. He is too excessive and hyperbolical in

In Apolog.
ad Constant.

the praise of Virginitie. The Son of God (saith he) our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, among other his gifts bestowed upon us in virginity, an example of angelical holiness. Certainly Virgins endowed with that virtue, the Catholick Church is wont to call the Spouses of Christ; whom being beheld by them the very heathen do prosecute with admiration, as the Temple of Christ.

There is a large encomium hereof, in the end of the treatise of Virginitie, which being but a vain rhetorical flourish, and because the Treatise it self is justly suspected not to belong unto *Athanasius*, I shall forbear to set it down as being unworthy to be ascribed unto so grave and sound an Author.

Lib. de incarnat. verb.
Dei. contra
P. Samosat.

Gent. 4. c. 4.
in med. part.
a. c. 16.

Orat. 3. contra
Arian.

3. He seems to assert the worshipping or adoration of the Saints, thus: If (saith he) thou adore the man Christ, because there dwelleth the Word of God, upon the same ground adore the Saints also, because God hath his habitation in them. It is strange (say the Centurists) that so great a Doctor should so write, but they do erre, (saith *Scultetus*) not considering that he there speaks upon the supposition of *Samosatenus*, who thought that Christ as man was to be adored, because of the Word dwelling in him, which is the thing that *Athanasius* denyeth, convincing *Samosatenus* of falshood from an absurdity that would follow: For seeing the Word dwelleth also in the Saints, it would thence follow that they are to be worshipped, which *Athanasius* in the same place affirmeth to be extreme impiety. And indeed he expressly elsewhere saith, that adoration belongeth unto God only.

§ 7. As

§ 7. As touching his death, it was very remarkable in this regard : that in the midst of a most vehement storm and tempest (the cruel persecution under the Emperour *Valens*) he should so quietly arrive at the haven. For being forc'd to hide himself (as hath been said) in his Fathers monument about the space of four months, the people that greatly loved him, and had him in very high esteem, grew so impatient of his absence from them, that they began to be tumultuous, threatening to burn the ships and publick edifices, unless *Athanasius* were permitted to return unto them again. The Emperour hereupon fearing what the issue might be, gave way to their fury (being a hot and hasty kind of people) and suffered him to enjoy his Bishoprick again, from that time tempering himself from troubling *Alexandria* and the Country of *Ægypt*. By this means it came to pass, that after so long labour and sweat for Christ, so many encounters for the Orthodox faith, so frequent and famous flights and banishments, having given many things in charge unto *Peter* his successor, he did at *Alexandria* in peace and a good old age, pass from this vale of trouble unto the rest above, after he had governed that Church by the space (though not without intermissions) of forty and six years, in the seventh year of the Emperour *Valens*, and of *Christ*, about 371.

Socrat. lib. 4.
c. 16.

In vita ejus
ab incerto
Authore.

Osiard. ep.
hist. Ecclesi.

Socrat. lib. 4.
c. 16. Baron.
Annal.

C c 3 *Hilarinus*

Hilarinus Pictaviensis.

§ 1. **H**E was born in France, and yet not *Gallus*; as himself answered *Leo Bishop of Rome* in a certain Council, asking him at his entrance in a proud insulting manner: *Tunc es Hilarinus Gallus? At ille. Non sum, inquit, Gallus, sed de Galliâ: ac si diccret: non sum natione Gallus, sed de Galliâ præsul. Erat enim gente Aquitanicus; pontificali autem dignitate præminebat Gallis:* for he was Bishop of *Poitiers* the chief City of the *Celte* or *Galli*. For France of old was divided into three parts or Provinces, viz. *Belgicam, Aquitanicam, (bodæ Guienne vocatur) & Celticam.* Now the inhabitants of this later were properly those called *Galli*; *ipsorum lingua Celte, nostrâ (inquit Cæsar) Galli appellantur.* So doth *Sulpitius Severus* distinguish his Country men into these three sorts, *Aquitanes, Galli* and *Brittaines*: the two former are so far differing the one from the other (saith *Strabo*) both in habit and Language, that the *Aquitanes* are more like unto the *Spaniards*, then unto the *Galli*.

It is reported of him, that in his younger years applying himself unto study, and not profiting as he desired, (which made him to doubt whether he should ever attain unto that

Antonin.
hist. part. 2.
cap. 3.

Nomenclat.
Geograph.
ad Cæsar.
comment.

In commen.
de bello
Gallie. l. 1.
Plin. l. 4. c. 17
Strab. l. 4.
Pomp. Mela.
l. 2 c. 2. Mag.
in Geog. l. 4.

Antonin.
hist. part. 2.
cap. 3.

that which he aimed at) he left the Schools, purposing to fall upon some other course; and passing along by a certain well in the way, walled up with great stone, he observed that those stones were much worn and hollowed in some places, by the often rubbing of the Rope upon them, wherewith they used to draw the water : Hereupon he fell into this consideration with himself: if this Cord, that is much softer, hath by frequency of fretting made this hard stone hollow ; then surely may I also, by continuance of time, both profit and perfect or accomplish my desire ; Accordingly, he betook him again unto the Schools, where by assiduity and constancy in study he at length became a most Learned and accurate Scholar.

He seems to have been at first an Ethnick, Cent. 4. c. 10
 at what time perceiving and considering with himself how vain the opinions and conceits were which the Philosophers had of the gods, musing much hereupon, he at length light upon the books of *Moses*, the Prophets, and the Apostles, by the diligent perusal whereof he came to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the Christian Religion ; being now well stricken in years : yet in a short time did he so much profit in the Doctrine of Christianity, that he was deservedly esteemed a chief Doctor and pillar of the Catholick Church. Hilar. de Trinit. l. 1. Bellar. de Scrip. Eccles.

His Country men, coming to understand of his great worth, soon advanced him unto a high degree of dignity ; though a married man, he being by them chosen to be Bishop of *Poitiers*, chief City of the Province of *Poitou*.

In concil.
tom. 7.

Sulp. Sever.
hist. l. 2. vir
sanè pessim-
us, & in-
genio malo
pravòq; ve-
rùm etiam
præter here-
sis infamiam
multis atq;
infandis cri-
minibus con-
victus, Ec-
clesiâ esse
ctus est.
Angelocra-
tor. ep. conc.

Now. About this time, the persecution under the Emperor *Constantius*, grew very hot; in so much that many eminent Bishops for holding fast and sticking close unto the Catholick Faith, were exiled and driven into banishment. Hereupon *Hilary* with divers other *Gallicane* Bishops, convening together, with mutual consent did by a Decree separate *Saturninus*, *Valens* and *Ursatius* (who were violent *Arians*) from their Communion: adding withal, that if any, being admonished to shun their society, did not herein obey the sentence of the Catholick Bishops, they should be excommunicated. *Saturninus* who was Bishop of *Arles* (a factious and mischievous man) took this very grievously, that he should be Anathematized and excluded from Communion with the rest of the Bishops; (yet after this was he for heinous crimes cast out of the Church) wherefore by the favor of *Constantius* he procured Synods to be congregated at *Byterris*, and at *Arles* Cities of *France*, unto which the Catholick Bishops should be forced to come: *Hilary*, being one of those who were present in these Synods, fearing least by the subtilty of the *Arians* (as was their manner) the Orthodox through simplicity might be circumvented, offereth a libel to be read, wherein the close conveyances, crafty fetches, and blasphemous Heresies of the *Arians* were laid open and discovered unto all. But the adversaries withstanding the Reading thereof, prevailed so far, that *Hilary* refusing to subscribe unto their ambiguous and captious confessions and decrees (for he was very circumspect and quick-

quick sighted to discern and avoid their cunning devices and impostures) was banished into *Phrygia* in the East, where he continued for the space of three whole years and upward.

In the fourth year of his banishment, the Emperor commands a Synod of the Eastern Bishops to assemble, at *Seleucia* a City of *Isauria*, (about the time that those of the West met at *Ariminum*) at the which *Hilary* was compelled by the Emperors deputy, to be present among the rest: this the Officers did by vertue of a General Command that they had received, for the convening of all the Bishops, having no particular order concerning *Hilary*: which yet came to pass, not without the special hand of God so disposing it, that a man so well instructed in the knowledge of Divine Truth, should be present, when matters of faith were to be disputed of. Being come, and received with a great deal of respect by the Orthodox the minds of all being toward him; they first demanded of him, what was the Faith of the *Gallicane* Churches, (for by the false reports of the *Arians*, they were suspected by the Eastern Bishops to be tainted with the Heresie of *Sabellius*:) wherein having given them good satisfaction, and shewed them that in the Faith they agreed with the Council of *Nice*, he was taken into their society, and added unto the Council: in the which, the *Arians* after much debate, were condemned by those that were but little better, being *Half-Arians*.

Sulp. Sever.
lib. 2.
Bin. Tom. 1.
Concil.

Some

Ibid. Sulpit.
Sever,

Some are sent unto the Emperor, to give him an account of what had passed in the Synod. Whither being come (those, who had been condemned, going thither also, presuming upon the strength of their party, and the Emperors favor, who was of their faction) they there found the delegates of the Orthodox party that had met at *Ariminum* : who, partly through fear of the Emperor, and partly through the fallacy of the *Arians*, were compelled to joyn in Communion with the Hereticks, there having been delivered unto them a specious form of the Faith, wrapt up in fallacious terms and expressions, which indeed seemed to be Catholick, but had the contrary doctrine closely couched under them.

Unto this, the Emperor required those of the Council of *Seleucia* to subscribe, threatening banishment unto them that refused so to do: in so much as the greater part were drawn to yield hereunto, some by one means, and some by another. *Hilary* being present with the Emperor, waiting upon him to know his mind whether he should again return into exile or no; and seeing the Faith in so much danger, the Western Bishops deceived and the Eastern deterred, and both overcome: he did most importunately by three petitions crave audience, and that he might be permitted to dispute the matter in controversy with the adversaries: which the *Arians* shunned and altogether refused. At length *Hilary* is commanded (as being the seminary of discord and disturber of the East) to return into *France* again.

Whither

Whither being come, he out of a mind burning with holy zeal, applyed himself with greatest care and industry unto this work chiefly, viz. To reduce into the right way again the Western Bishops that had been miserably deceived by the *Arians*. For which end divers Synods were assembled in *France*, wherein by his means the thing he intended, and so much desired, was at length happily effected: for the seduced were brought to see, acknowledge and amend their error, condemning what had been done and decreed at the Council of *Ariminum*, and so was that Church reformed and the faith therein restored unto its ancient state again. For which great benefit the *Gallicane* Churches were (as is evident unto all) beholding chiefly unto *Hilary* to whom they owe their freedom: By the brightness of whose beams (as also of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercelin*) the thick mists of error that had so much darkned those Countries, (viz. of *Illyricum*, *Italy* and *France*) were dispelled and scattered.

Sulp. Sever.
lib. c. 4. c. 19.

Euseb. Ver.
cel. est vir
omni vita
Deo serviens
Hilad Con-
stantium. l. 3.

Sozom. l. 15.
c. 10.
Anton. part.
2. c. 5.
Ruffin. hist.
lib. 1. c. 21.

§ 2. He was a very learned man, and of wonderful eloquence, wherein he so far excelled, that *Jerom* calls him a most eloquent man, the most elegant of his time, even a *Rhodanus* of Latine eloquence: Of a notable faculty to perswade and win men unto the truth, so that he was one of the most eminent lights of the age he lived in, and in *France* shining as the Moon at the full in the Temple of God: In whom this among the rest deserveth admiration, that (though he were otherwise learn'd yet) being for the most part ignorant of Ecclesiastical

Trithem. de
script.
Erasin. epist.
ant. Hilar.
Apolog. adv.
Ruff. lib. 2.
In proem.
comment. in
Galat. lib. 2.
Ruff. lib. 3.
c. 31.
Erasin. ubi
supra.
Anton. hist.
part. 2.

Baron. ad
an. 356.
Bellar. de
script. Eccl.

Erasin. epist.
ant. Hilar.

Sulp. Sever.
lib. 2.

Sulp. Sev. lib.

Erasin. epist.
ant. Hilar.
Cent. 4. c. 10.

Ruff. hist. lib.
1. c. 31.

Biblioth. lib.
4. epist. ad
Magnum. 84.

Ruff. ubi su-
pra.
Trithem. de
script.

Lib. de Sy-
nod. advers.
Arian.

Lib. 3. c. 13.

ecclesiastical controversies, he should in so short a time as he did, become so great a Doctor and Antagonist against the *Arians*, as to be worthily esteemed a chief pillar of the Catholick Church, being the first among the Latines that wrote against that heresie, of which he was a bitter enemy, branding the maintainers thereof with the black marks & characters of impious, blasphemous, pests, Antichrists, travelling and taking exceeding great pains for the stopping of its current and the curing and recovering of the infected world, this contagion having spread it self far and near.

He was excellently skilled in the knowledge of the Scriptures and divine mysteries, so that he was of great fame and authority in the Church, as appears by the venerable mention that *Jerom* oftentimes makes of him. Many were the the rare gifts wherewith he was richly adorned, and among others with a singular dexterity in teaching, and a notable faculty of perswading: unto which we may add, his acuteness in discerning and discovering the cunning conveyances and impostures of the Hereticks. *Sixtus Senensis* styles him an incomparable Bishop; and *Jerom*, the Confessor of his time, who stoutly maintained the truth, and constantly opposed the adversaries thereof, though in so doing he many times exposed himself to no small perils.

He was of a sweet and mild temper, very venerable in his life and manners, and of such modesty and humility, that though he were deservedly ranked among those of chiefest note in his time, yet did he account himself the most unskillful and unlearned of them all. In a word,

word, he was a man (saith *Sozomen*) truly divine in respect both of his life and learning, yet in this latter not a little defective, in that he had but small skill in the Greek and Hebrew languages: *Hebraei sermonis (inquit Hieronymus) ignarus fuit, Græcarum quoque literarum quandam aurulam ceperat; sed ab Hiliodorio presbytero, quo ille familiariter usus est, ea quæ intelligere non poterat, quomodo ab Origene essent dicta, quærebat.* Yet withal he adds, I dare not (saith he) reprehend so great a man, and the most eloquent in his time, (*vocalem illam Ecclesia Catholica tubam, inquit Erasmus*) who both for the merit of his confession, industry of his life, and famousness of his eloquence, is spoken of as far as the Roman name reacheth. I may not omit a passage in *Agobardus* Bishop of Lyons concerning him. *Quâ cantela (inquit) Judæorum semper et hæreticorum devitavit Hilarius profana consortia, vita ejus scripta fatetur: quod ita scilicet hujusmodi hostes Ecclesiæ fuerit execratus, ut non solum convivium, sed ne salutatio quidem ei extiterit, cum bis prætereunti communis.*

Erasm. in epist. ant. Mil.

Eps ad Marcellam. num. 141.

Ibid.

In epist. ante opera Chrysostom.

In epist. ad Ludovic. Imperat. de Judaic. superstitionibus.

I shall close his encomium in the words of *Venantius*, who was also Bishop of *Poitiers*, about the year of Christ, 575. And a Poet of chief note according to the time he lived in, He in four books of Heroick Verse wrote the life of *S. Martin*, by whose help he had been cured (as it is reported) of a great pain in his eyes, in the first of which books he thus speaks in the praise of our *Hilary*.

Nicæus. in auctario. de script. Eccl.

—*Summus apex fidei, virtutis, amoris,
Hilarius fana radios jactabat in orbem:*

Biblioth. patr. trum.

Bucclia

*Buccina terribilis, tuba legis, præco Tonantis:
 Pulchrior electro, ter coëto ardentior auro,
 Largior Eridano, Rhodano torrentior amplo,
 Uberior Nilo, generoso sparsior Hyllro,
 Cordis inundantis docilis ructare fluentis,
 Fontibus ingenii sitienta pectora rorans.
 Doctor Apostolicus, vacuans ratione sophistas,
 Dogmate, luce, fide informans virtute sequaces.*

Which may be thus Englished :

*Hilary, top of honour, faith and grace,
 Whose fame doth dart its rays in every place,
 The laws shrill Trumpet, preacher of the most High
 Fairer than Amber, sparkling far and nigh,
 More than refined Gold, larger than Po,
 More vehement than Rhone of swiftest flow,
 For fruitfulness passing th' Egyptian Nile,
 Outstretching generous Ister many a Mile:
 Whose swelling heart freely its streams out spouts,
 And with his wit the thirsty breasts bedews:
 Doctor Apostolick skilful to untie,
 The cunning knots of subtle Sophistry,
 And by sound doctrine to inform aright
 His followers with virtue, faith and light.*

§ 3. As for the Writings of this Worthy many of them have felt the force of time, which hath rak'd them up in the dust, so that they are withdrawn from the view and use of the present, as also of some preceding Ages. The little of them which with their names have been preserved unto this day, is that which follows, viz.

Hieronym.
 Apol. r. adv.
 Ruffin.

1. His commentary or tractates upon the Book of Job, which is little else than a translation

lation of *Origen*: For herein (and in his comment upon the *Psalms*) are to be found almost forty thousand verses (*quadraginta ferme milia versuum Origenis in Job et Psalmos translulit*) translated out of that Author, in which he keeps to the sence though not unto his words. These were extant in *Jeroms* time, for he had the sight of them.

Hieron. *Ibid.*

Hieron. in catalog.

Cent. 4. c. 10.

In catalog.

2. His comment upon the *Canticles*, which *Jerom* only heard of, but it came not to his hands.

3. Of *Mysteries*.

Ibid.

4. Of the *Septenary* or uneven number, a book mentioned by *Jerom*, dedicated unto *Fortunatus*: This book (saith *Victorinus*) is extant under the name of *Cyprian*, but that 'tis rather *Hilary's*, appears (saith he) from the stile, *Jeroms* authority ascribing it to him, and its dedication unto *Fortunatus*, who was *Hilary's* great friend, as his Poems do testify.

Apol. pro libris. advers. Jovinian. In Schol. in Apol. istam.

5. His book or commentary (as *Possevin* calls it) against *Dioscorus* a Physician, or against *Salust* a Prefect: wherein (though it were but short, yet was it a learned and accurate piece) he shewed what he could do with his Pen, putting out all the strength both of his wit and eloquence: which is wanting, not without the great loss of the History of the affairs of *France*, and other Countries.

Cent. 4. c. 10.

Hieron. epist. ad Magnum num. 34.

Erasm. in ep. ante Hilar. Possev. in apparat.

6. His book against *Valens* and *Ursatius*, (two pestilent *Arians*, who had infected with their heresie, *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and the East,) containing the History of the Acts of the councils of *Ariminum* and *Selencia*, which is lost, unless perhaps it be contained in his book of of Synods.

Sulp. Sever. lib. 2.

Erasm. in epist. praelat.

Trithem. de
script.

7. A defence of the Catholick Faith.
8. Of heresies.

Trith. ibid.
Berg. chron.

9. A book of Chronicles, or an history
from the beginning of the world unto the time
of Christ.

Ibid.

10. A book of hymns, he was the first a-
mong the Catholicks, that set forth hymns

In epist. ant.
Hilar.

- and verses. *Declarat (inquit Erasmus) phra-
sis et compositio Hilariani sermonis, in carmine
non infelicem fuisse. Et fortassis aliquot hym-
ni, quos hodie canit ecclesia, non indoctos sed in-
certi authoris, illius sunt.*

Sac. hist. l. 1.

11. Divers Epistles, a work mentioned by
Sulpitius Severus, which reporteth the great
age of *Osins* the famous Bishop of *Corduba*, as
being above an hundred year old. The most
of them seem to have been written after his
return from banishment into *France*, wherein
condemning the *Arian* heresie, he labours to
reduce therefrom those Western Bishops, who
by the Eastern in the Council of *Seleucia* had
been by cunning and craft deceived and drawn
into it.

Ibid.

12. Whereas the Centurists speak of a book
of his concerning the rebaptization of here-
ticks, I suppose it belongs not to our, but a-
nother *Hilary*, who was a Deacon in the
Church of *Rome*, and of *Cyprian's* mind in the
point of rebaptization of those that had been
baptized by hereticks, and particularly the
Arians. He indeed wrote certain books upon
this subject: of whom *Jerom* is to be under-
stood, calling him the Worlds *Deucalion*, as
one that thought the whole World would have
perished in the baptism of Hereticks as in a se-
cond flood, had not he restored it by another
Baptism.

Rivet. crit.
fac.

*Hilarus qui-
dam, non Pi-
travienfis e-
piscopus sed
Romanus di-
aconus de quo
hanc Camari-
nam movit.
Pamel. in vi-
ta Cypriani.*

In dialog.
adv. Lucife-
rian.

Victorius. in
Schol. in loc.

There

There are extant to this day these following books, which are generally conceived to be his.

1. Twelve books of the Trinity against the *Arians*, which he wrote when he was banished into *Phrygia*, being the first among the Latine Fathers that dealt upon this subject: A work in this regard of no small advantage unto the Reader, that therein he expounds divers places not a little obscure, in the Gospel of *John* and Epistles of *Paul*, no less happily than accurately. The first of these books as it seems he writ last, for it contains an account or sum of the whole work, setting down particularly the subjects or contents of each of the other books. It is an elaborate piece, of much strength, and commended even by the adversaries themselves.

Cent. 4. c. 10.
Chemnit. in
or. de lect
patrum.

Erasm. in ep.
ant. Hilar.

Erasm. ibid.

Socrat. h. 1. 5.
c. 12. Theo-
dor. l. 3. c. 14.

2. Three books or Apologues unto *Constantius* the Emperour, who much favoured the faction of the *Arians*: All which *Erasmus* thinks to be imperfect, for (saith he) they promise something exact and laborious, but perform not accordingly, being as it were suddenly silent. The first of these he conceives to have been written after the death of that Emperour, because he therein deals more freely and sharply with him; whereas in the other two he is more fair and moderate, *Baronius* supposeth the first as well as the two later, to have been written while the Emperour was alive, and therefore that the book mentioned by *Jerome* to be written after the death of *Constantius*, is not now extant; because he saith that by this free confession, he tended to martyrdom, whereunto he exhorteth others by

Cent. 4. c. 10.

In epist. ant.
Hilar.

In catalog.

De script.
Eccless.

the like liberty of speaking, which would have seemed ridiculous if the persecutor had been now dead. But (saith *Bellarmino*) perhaps these different opinions may be reconciled, by thus saying: That at the Writing of the first Epistle, *Hilary* thought him to have been dead, though indeed he were then alive.

Cent. 4. c. 19.

In catalog.

3. His book against the *Arians* or against *Auxentius* Bishop of *Milain*, written unto the Bishops and people detesting the *Arian* heresie: which by *Jerom* is stiled an elegant book: wherein he accuseth the said Bishop as infected with *Arianism*. To which is annexed an Epistle of *Auxentius*, wherein he cleareth himself, as not guilty of the crime laid to his charge.

Eras. ant.
Hilar. epist.

4. His book of Synods unto the Bishops of *France*, whom he congratulates that in the midst of so great tumults as are in the world, they had kept themselves free from the *Arian* faction; wherein he declares in what meetings of the Bishops the *Arian* heresie had been condemned. This book (as himself testifieth) he translated out of *Greek*, but with this liberty that neglecting the words he kept still to the sense, and where the place invites him so to do, he adds and intermingles somewhat of his own. Of which, *Clementinus* thus speaks. He gathered together (saith he) the opinions of the *Greeks* concerning the Trinity, and unless he had collected the decrees of the Eastern Synods, we should have known nothing of them as touching their opinions and doctrines.

In or. de lect.
par. ante
loc. com.

Eras. in e-
pist. ant. Hil.

5. His commentary upon the Gospel of *Matthew*, which he divided into thirty and three

three Canons, by which name it is called of some: Going through almost the whole of that Evangelist, in a succinct and brief, but learned and solid explanation: Being more delighted with the allegorical than literal sense herein imitating *Origen*, out of whom I doubt not (saith *Erasmus*) he translated this whole work; it doth so in all things favour both of the wit and phrase of *Origen*. For as it containeth many choice things which do proclaim the Author to have been most absolutely skilled in the sacred Scriptures, so is he sometimes too superstitious and violent in his allegories; a peculiar fault to be found in almost all the commentaries of *Origen*.

Sixt. Senens.
biblioth. 1.49

ibid.

6. His commentary upon the *Psalms*, not the whole but upon the first and second: then from the one and fiftieth unto the sixty and second: according to *Jerom's* reckoning, but as now extant in *Erasmus* his edition, from the one and fiftieth unto the end of the sixty and ninth: which addition *Sixtus Senensis* saith he had read being printed. Also from the hundred and nineteenth unto the end of the book: only that upon the last Psalm is imperfect, the last leaf (saith *Erasmus*) in the manuscripts being either torn or worn away, as it oftentimes falls out. This work is rather an imitation than a translation of *Origen*: for he adds somewhat of his own, some do affirm that he set forth tractates upon the whole book of the *Psalms*; and that it was extant in *Spain*, But commonly no more is to be found than the above mentioned. This commentary, as also his book of the *Synods*, being very large, *Jerom* transcribed with his own hand at *Triers*

In catalog.

In biblioth.
lib. 4.

In epist. ant.
Hilar.

Ep. ad Flo-
rentium.
num. 6.

for he had him in very high esteem.

There are also some books abroad under his name, which are justly suspected and taken for spurious. As,

1. An Epistle unto *Abram* or *Afram* his Daughter, which is a mere toy of some idle and unlearned man, it hath nothing in it worthy of *Hilary*, much less that which follows, viz.

2. An Hymn which hath in it neither rhythm nor reason, yet doth *Jerom* testifie of *Hilary*, that he wrote in verse, and perhaps some of those hymns which at this day are sung in the Church, whose Author is unknown, may be his: He was so far skill'd this way, that *Gyraldus* gives him a place and ranks him among the Christian Poets. *Bellarmino* and *Possevin* had but small reason upon so slender a ground, as they have, to affirm both of these to be his without doubt.

3. A book of the unity of the Father and the Son, which, whether it were his or no, seems very uncertain; seeing *Jerom* makes no mention of it. It seems to be a rhapsody of some studious man, taken partly out of the second, but for the most part out of the ninth book of the Trinity; who omitted and added what he pleased. With this as a distinct book from it, *Bellarmino* joyns another, of the essence of the Father and the Son, which yet I find not named by any other Author. Indeed there is an appendix unto the former of the various names of Christ, (which *Bellarmino* mentions not) the phrase whereof differs much from *Hilary's*. The Author whereof would fain imitate *Hilary*, which he was not negligent

Erasm. in ep.
ant. Hilar. et
alibi.

Erasm. ibid.

De poetis.

Bellar. de
script. Eccl.

In catalog.
libr. Hilar. in
edit. Erasmi.
Cent. 4. c. 10.

Ibid.

Riv. crit. fac.

gent in the performance of: They are grave and learned books (saith *Bellarmino* of his two) and not unworthy the spirit and eloquence of *Hilary*.

De script.
Ecclesi.

4. An Epistle unto *Augustine*, concerning the remains of the *Pelagian* heresie, which cannot be *Hilary's*, because that heresie was not known in his time.

Riv. crit. fac.

5. Another Epistle unto *Augustine*, being the eighty and eighth in number among *Augustines*: in which he propounds certain questions to be resolved, but neither this nor the former are our *Hilary's*, who was dead before *Augustine* became a Christian, and yet in his answer he styles him his Son. They both seem to belong unto another *Hilary*, that was afterward made Bishop of *Arles*; who together with *Prosper* of *Aquitain*, defended the cause of *Augustine* against the French *Semipelagians*. The former of the Epistles gave occasion unto *Augustine* to write his treatises of the predetermination of the Saints and of the good of perseverance; to which are prefix'd this Epistle, together with one from *Prosper* concerning the same matter.

Ibid.

Bellar. de
script. Eccl.

Riv. crit. fac.

6. A fragment concerning the things that were done in the Council of *Ariminum*, rejected by *Baronius*.

Ad an. 353.

7. An heroick Poem, stiled *Genesis* written unto Pope *Leo*, who lived *Ann.* 440. at what time *Hilary* had left this life: And therefore it cannot be his, but may better be ascribed unto the abovenamed *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*.

Riv. crit. fac.

Bellar. de
script. Eccl.

8. A fragment of the Trinity, which contains his creed, but of little credit as being no

Biblioth.
Patr. gr. lat.
tom. I.

where else mentioned. It might happily be an extract out of his work upon this subject.

§ 4. As for his stile, it is perplex and thorny, such, as should he handle matters in themselves very clear, yet would it be both hard to be understood and easie to be depraved. Very lofty he is after the *Gallicane* manner, for this seems to be peculiar unto the wit and genius of that nation; (as appears in *Sulpitius Severus*, *Eucherius*, and of late the famous *Budens*, *adeo sublimis, ut tubam sonare credas non hominem; adeo feliciter elaboratus, ut eruditum lectorem nunquam satiet, trivialiter literatos procul submoveat.*) and being adorned with the Flowers of Greece, he is sometimes involved in long periods, so that he is far above the reach of, and in vain perused by unskilful Readers, which yet *Sixtus Senensis* thinketh ought to be referred unto his books of the Trinity, wherein he imitated *Quintilian* both in his stile, and also the number of the books: for in that work though the subject it self were profound, yet did he affect the praise of subtlety in the handling of it: which inconvenience (saith *Erasmus*) may be lessened in the Reader through custom and familiarity. But in his commentaries upon the *Psalms* and Gospel of *Matthew*, his stile is succinct without any affectation of art, solid yet sometimes obscure, but far from all swelling haughtiness,

§ 5. There are many things in his works well worthy of notes; I shall present you with a few which I shall chuse to do in his words
lest

Calvin. ep.
332.

Erasm. in ep.
ant. Hilar.

Hieron. ep.
23. ad Pauli-
num.

Biblioth. l. 4.

Hieron. epist.
34. ad Mag-
num.

In epist. ant.
Hilar.

Sixt. Senens.
lib. 4.

lest they should lose too much of their weight, by the translation of them.

1. His Creed or the sum of his faith, which he thus pithily sets down. *Intelliges (inquit* Ad Constant. l. 3. sub hanc *ad imperatorem Constantium) a me predicari unum Deum Patrem, ex quo omnia; et quem misit Jesum Christum, per quem omnia, natum ex Deo, qui est ante tempora eterna, et erat in principio, apud Deum, Deus Verbum, qui est imago Dei invisibilis, in quo habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter: qui cum in forma Dei esset, humilians sese salutis nostrae causâ, formam servi ex conceptu Spiritus sancti de Virgine accepit, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, et post resurrectionem mortis deinde in caelestibus sedens, aderit iudex vivorum et mortuorum, et Rex omnium eternorum seculorum. Est enim unigenitus Deus, et Deus verus et Deus magnus, super omnia Deus, et omnis lingua confitebitur, quia dominus Jesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris est.*

2. Of the Scriptures, as containing in them In Psal. 132. all things necessary to be known: *Quæ (inquit) libro legis non continentur, ea nec nosse debemus.*

3. Of God thus. *Inter hæc (speaking of his doubts concerning the heathen Gods) animus sollicitus, divinum et æternum nihil nisi unum esse et indifferens pro certo habebat, quia id quod sibi ad id quod est auctor esset, nihil necesse est extra se quod sui esset præstantius reliquisse. Atque ita omnipotentiam æternitatemque non nisi penes unum esse, quia neque in omnipotentia validius infirmiusque, neque in æternitate posterius anteriorisve congrueret. In Deo autem nihil nisi æternum potensque esse venerandum,* De trin. l. 2.

In Psal. 2.

4. Much to the same purpose. *Deus (inquit) beatus atq; perfectus profectum non eget cui nihil deest, demutatione non novus est, qui origine caret. Ipse est, qui quod est non aliunde est, in sese est cum est, ad se est, suus sibi est, & ipse sibi omnia est, carens omni demutatione novitatis, qui nihil aliud quod in se posset incidere per id quod ipse sibi totum totus est reliquit.*

De Trin. l. 4.

5. Of Christ thus: *Hic unus est disponens ad Abraham, loquens ad Moysen, testans ad Israel, manens in Prophetis, per Virginem natus, ex Spiritu Sancto, adversantes nobis inimicasq; virtutes ligno passionis affigens, mortem in inferno perimens, spei nostra fidem resurrectione confirmans, corruptionem carnis humanę gloriã corporis sui perimens. — Deo hæc unigenito soli propria sunt.*

In Psal. 2.

6. Of the Anger of God, thus: *Pæna patientis, ira esse creditur, decernentis. Atq; ita irascitur Deus, cum per pæna dolorem iram decreti in se sentiat esse punitus, quæ non per demutationem nature in iram ex placabilitate commota est, sed ex constitutione pæna ira sit puniendis.*

De Trin.
lib. 10.

7. Of faith, thus: *Pietas est non ambigere, & justitia est credere, & salus confiteri. Non in incerta diffuere neq; ad stultiloquia effervere, neq; modo circumscribere potestatem, neq; causas investigabilium sacramentorum retrahere, Dominum Jesum confiteri, & à Deo suscitatum à mortuis credere salus est. Quæ verò insania est,*

est, qualis & ejusmodi sit Jesum calumniari, cum salus sola sit hoc solum scire, quod Dominus sit. In simplicitate itaq; fides est, in fide justitia est, in confessione pietas est. Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam questiones vocat nec multiplici eloquentis facundia genere sollicitat. In absoluto & nobis ac facili est aternitas, Jesum suscitatum à mortuis per Deum credere, & ipsum esse Dominum confiteri.

8. Of the evil of divisions thus, — *usus inolevit, qui postquam nova potius capit condere, quam accepta retinere, nec veterata defendit, nec innovata firmavit, & facta fides temporum potius quam Evangeliorum, dum & secundum annos scribitur, & secundum confessionem baptismi non tenetur. Periculosum nobis admodum, atq; etiam miserabile est, tot nunc fides existere, quot voluntates: & tot nobis doctrinas esse, quot mores & tot causas blasphemiarum pullulare, quot vitia sunt: dum aut ita fides scribuntur ut volumus, aut ita ut volumus, intelliguntur: & cum secundum unum Deum & unum Dominum, & unum baptisma, etiam fides una sit, excedimus ab eâ fide quæ sola est, & dum plures fiunt, ad id ceperunt esse, ne ulla sit.*

9. Of Hereticks, thus; *Quis Doctrinæ profectus est, placida magis quam docenda conquirere? Aut quæ doctrinæ Religio est, non docenda desiderare, sed desideratis coacervare doctrinam? Sed hæc seducentium Spirituum incentiva suppeditant, & simulata religionis falsiloquia confirmant. Sequitur enim fidei defectionem hypocrisis*

De Trinit.
lib. 10.

poeris mandax, ut sit vel in verbis pietas quam amiserat conscientia.

In Psal. 66.

10. Of pardon of sin, thus: *Ex copiâ bonitatis suæ misericordiam in peccatorum remissionem largitur Deus; & peccatorum remissio non probitatis est meritum, sed spontanea indulgentiæ voluntas ex bonitatis divitiis ad miserandi munus exuberans.*

In Matth.
Canon. 27.

11. Of merit, thus, *Virgines prudentes suis petentibus ut oleum mutuent; responderunt, non posse se dare, quia non sit fortè quod omnibus satis sit, alienis scilicet operibus ac meritis neminem adjuvandum quia unicuiq; lampadi suæ emergere oleum sit necesse.*

In vita Gobelinii Personæ. vixit. ann. 1430.

Suitable hereunto is that remarkable story recorded by *Melchior Adams*; to this purpose that a little before the time of *Gobelinus*, there was set forth a play at *Isenach* in Germany, of the wise and foolish Virgins; wherein the foolish desiring oyl of the wise, (which the Actor thus interpreted; that they would intercede unto God for them that they might be admitted unto the Marriage, i. e. the Kingdom of heaven) they utterly denied to lend them any. The foolish fell to knocking, weeping and instant praying, but could not prevail a jot; but were bidden to be gone and buy oyl. Hereat Prince *Frederick* (being present) was greatly amazed, crying out *Quid est fides nostra Christiana, si neque Maria* (the was one of the five Saints that represented the wise Virgins) *neq; alia sancta exorari potest: ut deprecetur pro nobis? quorsum tot merita & bona opera, ut Sanctorum apud Deum intercessionem nobis*

nobis concilemus, & gratiam impetremus: This consternation was such, that through it he fell into a sore and dangerous disease, which ended in an apoplexy whereof he died about four days after.

12. Of the qualifications of a Bishop or De Trin. l. 2. Pastor: thus, *Quæ propria disciplina ac morum sunt, ad sacerdotii meritum utilia esse significat Apostolus, si etiam hæc quæ ad docende ac tu-* Tit. 1. 9; *inde fidei scientiam necessaria sunt, inter reliqua non deerrunt. Quia non statim boni atq; utilis sacerdotis est, aut tantummodo innocenter agere, aut tantummodo scienter predicare, cum & innocens sibi tantum proficiat, nisi doctus sit: & doctus sine doctrinæ sit autoritate nisi innocens sit. Non enim Apostolicus sermo probitatis honestatisq; præceptis hominem tantum seculo conformat ad vitam, neq; rursus per doctrinæ scientiam scribam synagoga instituit ad legem, sed perfectum Ecclesiæ principem perfectis maximarum virtutum bonis instruit, ut & vita ejus ornetur docendo, & doctrina vivendo.*

13. Of Scandal, thus. *Differt laqueus à In Psal. 140; scandalo: Laqueus enim est adhortatio voluptatum, & ingenium appetitionis inhonestæ, quod modo laquei fallens capit. Scandalum autem est uxor irreligiosa, filius iniquus, & cetera deinceps domi nomina, & omnis ex Ecclesiâ frater, aut contumeliosus, aut avarus, aut ebriosus, aut turpis. In his enim nobis est scandalum, quotiens ad necessitatem irascendi, inhibendi, vindicandi ex illâ quietâ fidei nostræ mansuetudine provocamur.*

In Psal. 125.

14. Of being under the power of corruption, thus, *Anime captivitas quam infelix est? Avarus cariturus semetipso, cavere timet pecuniâ, negotiosus, tristis, anxius, sine requie ulla, damni metu semper detinetur: honestatis immemor est, amicitiarum inobservans, humanitatis fugax, religionem nescit, bonitatem omnino odit. At verò cui libido domina est, in quo cæno dedecoris volutatur? Pendet ad occasiones adulteriorum, anxius circa lascivia sue fervorem, oculis, mente, corpore totus in scortis est. Videns quotidie atq; audiens humanas in adulteros leger, adulterium in ipso foro cogitat: quod agit timet, & quod timet non fugit. Quid verò infelicius ebrietatis dominatu? Ventri ultra capacitatem infundere, sensui rationem adimere, non loqui, non meminisse, non stare, & mortem quandam nature incolumi imperare? quàm dedecorosus autem est furentium motus, temeritatis impetus, odiorum stimulus, livoris anxietas? Quanta ergò perturbatio eorum est, quanta calamitas, qui supra memoratis malis serviunt?*

§ 6. These and such like passages worthy of note, are frequently to be met with in the writings of this Father; wherein there also some things that call for the caution of the Reader, as not so warily and fitly uttered as they should have been, nor altogether allowable and to be approved of. Such are these that follow.

Lib. 2. de Trinitat.

I. *Suam cuiq; personam distribuens, eternitatem adsignat patri, imaginem filio, usum Spiritui*

Spiritu Sancto. In the explication of which place, *Augustine* much troubled himself, as not knowing what he should mean by the word *Usus.* Cent. 4. c. 10.

2. *Videtur Christo tribuere corpus & animam, nullis obnoxiam molestis affectionibus, e.g. hominem (inquit) verum secundum similitudinem nostri hominis non deficiens à se Deo sumpsit Christus, in quem quamvis aut iñus incideret aut vulnus descenderet, aut nodi concurrerent, aut suspensio elevarer, afferrent quidem hac impetum passionis, non tamen dolorem passionis inferrent, ut telum aliquod aut aquam perforans, aut ignem compungens, aut aera vulnerans — homo ille de Deo est habens ad patiendum quidem corpus, & passus est, sed naturam non habens ad dolendum.* De Trinit. lib. 10.

3. *Parum benè ab eo dictum est: Mariam Virginem præter concipiendi, gestandi & pariendi ministerium, nihil addidisse de suo: ac si Christus non ex substantiâ corporis Mariæ carnem & sanguinem suam sumpisset.* Ibid. Cent. 4. c. 10.

4. *Afferit, nos cum filio & patre unum esse naturâ, non adoptione, neque consensu tantum.* De Trin. l. 3.

5. *De creatione sensit: omnia creationis opera simul & semel, sine intervalis aut ordine operum aliorum post alia creatorum, extitisse; quæ opinio manifestè cum 1. capite Genesios pugnat.* De Trin. lib. 12.

6. *De libero arbitrio non satis videtur cautè locutus*

In Psal. 118. locutus : cum ait. In Psal. 119. 33. Prius (inquit) quæ à Deo sunt cum honore preposuit, & tunc quæ à se cum confessione subiecit. Orat igitur ut Deus tribuat. Est ergò à nobis cum oramus exordium, ut munus ab eo sit : debinc quia de exordio nostro munus est ejus, ex nostro rursum est, ut exquiratur, & obtineatur, & maneat. Item. Est quidem in fide manendi à Deo munus, sed impediendi à nobis origo est. Et voluntas nostra hoc proprium ex se habere debet, ut velit Deus incipienti clementiam dare; quia consummationem per se infirmitas nostra non obtinet, meritum tamen adipiscende consummationis est ex initio voluntatis.

Ibid.

Cent. 4. c. 10.
Osiand. epit.
hist. Eccles.
Cent. 4. l. 3.
c. 18.

Sulpit.
Sever. l. 2.

Bucholcer.
Chron.
Baron.
annal.

§ 7. As concerning his end, I find this : that upon the death of *Constantius*, *Julian* his successor granting liberty of returning unto all those that by *Constantius* had been banished, *Hilary* among the rest returned into his own country, where having remained by the space of six years he peaceably ended his days, in the Reign of the Emperors *Valentinian* and *Valens*; *Ann.* Christi, Three hundred sixty six, or as others; Three hundred sixty nine.

FINIS.

Reader, you are entreated to correct the errors of the Press, particularly that in page 151. for all vilions read allusions.

Mantissa.

THis Treatise which hath lain dormant by me for several years, was dispatch'd and put out of hand, before Mr. *Dallee's* book of the Writings of *Dyonisius Areopagita* and *Ignatius Antiochenus* saw the light, and had it then passed the press (as it was very near to have done) I had been saved this labour, and no contest had happened between the very learn'd *Dallee* and my self. But coming to a view of it, when mine was adventuring into the world, I thought my self concerned to say somewhat (and much it shall not be) in vindication of the Epistles of that holy Martyr *Ignatius*, as being at least in part genuine, and not wholly supposititious; though it cannot be denied that both he and they have been not a little abused by bold and dis-inngenuous persons.

Having therefore perused what the perspicacious Mr. *Dallee* hath done upon this subject, I find that therein he hath given sufficient proof of his singular learning, judgment and industry: And had his great pains been confin'd to and level'd at, the further discovery of the vile injury that hath been offered to the worthy monuments of that famous Martyr and primitive Bishop, and not the utter extinction

Glorious of them, his undertaking might have proved much more acceptable and successful. He hereth follows his Coætarian Countrymèn *Salmasius* and *Blouet*; and of the more ancient, (who yet were Eight hundred years after Christ) *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Anastasius* the Library keeper at *Rome*, and these are the principal whom he names to have been of the same mind with himself herein, though the greatest part of learned men go a contrary way unto him.

The method he proceeds in is this: 1. He endeavours to make out the imposture (as he apprehends it to be) by no less than sixty six Arguments, drawn from the Ancients making no mention of these Epistles, especially such as preceded *Eusebius*: as also from divers expressions and passages found in them, which we cannot imagine should ever drop from the Pen of *Ignatius*. 2. He undertakes to answer the arguments and objections against it, made by those that dissent from him herein.

In answer to the first Argument drawn from the silence of the Ancients making no mention of them: Besides what the learned Dr. *Hammond* hath said, viz. That he is clearly destitute of positives, whoever would make use of Negatives, and saith *Bellarmino*, arguments negatively drawn from authority conclude nothing: both these sayings Mr. *Dalle* sets down, *Chap. 5*. I would offer to consideration.

1. That it is more than probable that *Ignatius* did write Epistles: this Mr. *Dalle* seems to grant: 'tis not question'd (saith he) whether *Ignatius* wrote Epistles, (for who is so foolish

foolish to deny that he writ some) but whether he wrote those that are carried about. p. 450. Again, why do we not follow that which is most likely, to wit, that the impostor having learned that some Epistles were of old written by *Ignatius*, and perceiving that they were now wanting, took counsel from thence to feign and put forth his own under the same name. p. 454. To which he subjoyns these words of the learned *Petavins*, I verily deny not that the Epistles of *Ignatius*, have been interpolated and changed by the addition of certain things, and depraved; and that some are supposititious: But that no Epistles at all were written by *Ignatius*, I verily think to be too rashly affirmed. p. 230. Now if he did write Epistles, we cannot but suppose that those of his time who had him in so high esteem, would with utmost care preserve them, and not suffer through their negligence so precious a *κεῖμηλιον* to be lost: And if so, what hinders why these now remaining should not (at least in part) be some of them?

2. 'Tis known that the Ancients do but seldom make use of the writings of those that went before them, and when they do so they do it many times without naming the Author from whom the passages are borrowed. So *Irenæus* is wont (saith Mr. *Dallee*) to bring and recite the sayings and sentences of eminent men more ancient than himself, delivered by them, whether written or by lively voice, without naming the Authors. p. 266. Again, Mr. *Dallee* in his treatise of the right use of the Fathers, lib. 1. Chap. 6. p. 103. If the Fathers (saith he) would have but taken the

pains to have given us notice every time, who the Author was whose opinion they alledged, this manner of commenting upon the Scriptures, would have been much more beneficial to us and less troublesome. But this they very seldom do, as you may observe out of the expositions of *Hilary*, *Ambrose* and others who robbing poor *Origen* without any mercy, do not yet do him the honour so much as to name him scarcely. From the Ancients not mentioning the Epistles of *Ignatius* therefore, to infer that they are none of his, is very inconsequent, seeing this was a practice very usual with them.

3. We find that *Polycarp* who lived at the same time with *Ignatius*, as also *Irenaeus* and *Origen*, (who were all before *Eusebius*) do make use of some passages in those Epistles: And the double testimony (saith Mr. *Dallee* p. 458.) of *Polycarp* and *Irenaeus* prevail'd with *Eusebius* so far, that he doubted not but that it was *Ignatius* his work. It is true that the Arguments drawn from hence by the most reverend *Vsser*, and learned Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Dallee* labours to enervate as of no force: but of what strength his solutions are we shall make some tryal by and by: And thus much for his first argument drawn from the Ancients not mentioning, as he pretends, the Epistles of *Ignatius*.

2. As to his second Argument fetched from the expressions and passages found in them, which cannot be conceived to have come from *Ignatius*, but have been inserted by some latter hand: To this it may be answered, that many of these (and too many of them have
crept

crept into *Ignatius* his epistles) have been observed and made mention of by others: though the diligent and quicksighted Mr. *Dallee* hath taken notice of and discovered many more. The first discoverers of the imposture from thence concluded (as well they might) that foul hands had been tampering with and defiling them: (and who of the most eminent Ancients have not been so dealt with by wretched men; that so those worthies might seem to own some errors, which by this means these hucksters seek to impose upon the world, and would fain that they should be entertained by unwary Readers) but yet did not conceive this to be a sufficient ground altogether to disclaim and reject them, as not written by *Ignatius*: *Et gradus non alterat speciem*. And had Mr. *Dallee* proceeded no further upon his more narrow inspection into, and espyal of the fraud of those interpolators, good might have been done by his laudable pains, and the mischief of the deceit more fully prevented. But Mr. *Dallee* seems to have been too much swayed by *Nicephorus P. C.* and *Anastasius* the Roman Library keeper, whom he follows herein, who upon this only account (as *Usser* thinks) because they were interpolated and corrupted, did rank these Epistles in the number of *Apocryphals*: as Mr. *Dallee* tells us p. 251. Though the instances produced by Mr. *Dallee* (too many here to be repeated) be looked on and yielded to have been since added by unworthy interpolators, yet may there be so much found remaining, as may make up those Epistles as they came out of the hands of *Ignatius*; those Epistles of his

reckoned to be genuine, being much shorter in the time of *Eusebius* than they are at this day. The interpolations therefore are no sufficient warrant for their utter rejection. *Petav.* p. 229.

The second branch of this discourse consists of his answer made to the Arguments of dissenters, wherein they shew that the Ancients before *Eusebius*, did make use of divers passages from *Ignatius*, and therefore is his pretence of their silence in this regard of no force to annul the Epistles of *Ignatius*.

Their first argument is drawn from the testimony of *Polycarp* his contemporary, which is found in his Epistle to the *Philippians*.

To which Mr. *Dallee* returns this solution.

1. That that Epistle to the *Philippians* is apocryphal. *Ans.* Those whose judgment this is, are the aforesaid *Nicephorus P. C.* and *Anastasius Bibli. R.* who follows *Nicephorus* herein as Mr. *Dallee* owns, p. 250. f. so that upon the matter it amounts to no more than one single testimony; against which we may well oppose the contrary judgment of *Eusebius*, much more ancient than they who mention that passage of *Polycarp*, (*viz.* that he had sent them as many Epistles of *Ignatius* as he had by him) as contained in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, without any hesitation of its being his. *hist. lib. 3. cap. 32.* and quotes *Irenaeus, lib. 3. cap. 3.* as owning it to be his: Thus, there is (saith he) extant an Epistle of *Polycarp* unto the *Philippians*, very profitable &c. *hist. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

Solut. 2. The Author (saith Mr. *Dallee*) of that particle in *Polycarps* epistle, (*viz.* of *Ignatius*

Ignatius himself, and those that are with him, signify what ye know for certain) intimates that when he writ it *Ignatius* was living, but the Author of the Epistle most plainly affirms, (using the word *τετελειωμενον*) that he was dead. Therefore was it inserted into the Epistle by some other.

Ans. 1. Were it so yet this makes not the whole Epistle Apocryphal but only corrupted, as those of *Ignatius* have also been, for which cause *Nicephorus* and *Anastasius* reject them: and upon the same reason, as Mr. *Dallee* imagines, do they conclude that the Epistle of *Polycarp* also is Apocryphal, p. 429. m. but how weakly judge. And for this particle inserted Mr. *Dallee*; *ibid.* thinks it no crime to say, that those Epistles, viz. of *Ignatius*, which in this Epistle of *Polycarp* to the *Philippians*, are said to be collected by him, were not collected by *Polycarp*, a conjecture but slenderly bottom'd. Yea Mr. *Dallee* grants that if those words put in by the impostor be left out, all the rest of the Epistle agrees with the judgment of *Photius* one of the Successors of *Anastasius* in the Patriarchship who saith: There was read the Epistle of *Polycarp* unto the *Philippians*, full of many admonitions, with plainness and simplicity. p. 429. m. It seems by this that *Photius* (a most learned Writer as Mr. *Dallee* there files him) did not account that Epistle to be Apocryphal, nor did the judgment of his predecessor sway him herein, which therefore he did not look on as of so much weight as Mr. *Dallee* esteems it to be.

And whereas Mr. *Dallee* tells us that it is apparent that the particle contained in this E-

pistle (wherein is mentioned that a collection of *Ignatius* his epistles was made by *Polycarp*) was inserted by the impostor, whence he concludes that the collection was not made by him: It seems not to be so apparent, for admit that particle not to be so coherent with the preceding clause, as Mr. *Dallee* conceives, yet we know how usual it is in the close of Epistles, to add somewhat beside the main intendment of them occasionally. Besides, all that he gathers from the seeming incoherence is only this; that those words seem to have been rashly and beside the mind of the Author sown on by some other hand: and if any thing were added, saith he, by the Author beside the above mentioned words, I should believe that those last words which follow after the place objected against, (*viz. Scripsistis mihi et vos & Ignatius, &c.* where he speaks of the collection of the Epistles of *Ignatius* made by him) were the words that were added. p. 47. So, saith he, expunging all that which is said of *Ignatius* and his Epistles, the whole clause of the Epistle would run decently. Thus he p. 427. And what amounts all this conjecture unto, but only this that from the seeming incoherence of that particle with the foregoing words, it seems to him and he believes, and p. 429. 'Tis his opinion concerning the objected place in *Polycarp's* Epistle, that that particle was added by the impostor. Let the Reader now judge whether these conjectural apprehensions of his be sufficient to invalidate *Polycarp's* testimony of the Epistles of *Ignatius*.

But what can be imagined that the impostor should

should have in his eye, in adding this particle to *Polycarp's* Epistle? seeing it hath nothing in it, beside a commendation of *Ignatius* his Epistles, but some particular affairs: what advantage could he gain by such an abuse? Oh much, saith Mr. *Dallee*: the impostor (whom I think we need not look far for) is even he without doubt, whom we have hitherto demonstrated by many and manifest proofs to have substituted, feigning the name of *Ignatius*, Epistles framed by himself to the holy Martyr. This is indeed said by Mr. *Dallee*, but how doth it appear that he is the man? and if he framed *Ignatius* his Epistles, then all or only some of them: All he could not, for some were extant before *Eusebius* his time, who mentions divers of them. *lib. 3. cap. 33.* and he lived. *an. 326.* And the second collection being six in number, was made (as the Reverend *Usser* conjectures) *Ann. 580.* or, as the publisher of the *Constantinopolitan Chronicle* thinks, *ann. 630.* So the space of time between those mentioned by *Eusebius*, if collected but in his time, and the second collection is by the former computation. 254. years, and by the latter 304. years, a time too long to imagine the impostor to have lived. If he were the forger but of some only, 'tis demanded of which? and of this I suppose it will be found somewhat a knotty difficulty to determine. Besides, if some only be the impostors, then the remainder must be of some other, and if so why not of *Ignatius*, being the commonly reputed father of them.

2. That the Author of the Epistle saith plainly that *Ignatius* was then dead, is not so

plainly to be found therein. For those expressions, viz. That he was *πεπλευμένος* and had finished the least act of his conflict, do not necessarily imply so much, but might be made use of upon this account, because he had been condemned, and was under the sentence of death, being now also in the way to his execution: for such are dead in law and looked on as in that state: as that Phrase holds out, *Psal. 79. 11. According to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to dye, or as the Margin reads, the children of death.*

2. The second Argument or objection made by the dissenters, is drawn from the testimony of *Irenæus*; who in his fifth book against heresies, towards the end hath these words: As one of our own, who for the testimony of God, was adjudged to the beasts; said, I am the Wheat of God, &c.

Solut. *Irenæus* saith not that he wrote those words, but only that he spake so: Then it cannot be gathered that he saw any writing of *Ignatius*.

Ans^r. 1. The word *ἔειπε* denotes indifferently both the thing uttered by the voice, and those delivered in writing also: so *Tit. 1. 12. ἔειπέ τις*: one of themselves even a prophet of their own, said, this was written by *Epimenides* the Poet. So then notwithstanding the expression *ἔειπε*, he might have that sentence from some writing of *Ignatius*. 2. *Jerom* and others report, that those words were uttered by him, when he was adjudged to the beasts, which was no small while before he encountered them. For after his sentence pronounced,

ced, he was led from *Syria* to *Rome*, a long journey, wherein he writ his genuine Epistles, of which that to the *Romans* was one, containing the words pronounced by him: So that probable it is that he spake those words more than once, between the time of his being sentenced and executed; and therefore may well be conceived to have made mention of them in an Epistle.

2. Mr. *Dallee* concludes that *Irenæus* never saw or knew of any Epistle of *Ignatius*. 1. Because he brings the Authority of such as were Elders before him, and disciples of the Apostles against the error of *Florinus* and of *Polycarp* by name; but mentions not *Ignatius*.

Ans. 1. His not mentioning of *Ignatius*, is but a slender argument to prove that he saw not any Epistle of his, he might have some reason unknown to us of this his silence.

2. *Ignatius* is no less contained in the word Elders, than *Polycarp*: for he saith in general that *Florinus* never had his doctrine delivered to him from those Elders, the disciples of the Apostles: which expression (Elders) comprehends and may be understood of *Ignatius* as well as *Polycarp*, who were both the Disciples of the Apostle *John*. 3. In that fragment of his Epistle to *Florinus*, he saith this only of *Polycarp*: I, saith he, saw thee *Florinus*; when I was yet a boy with *Polycarp* in the lesser *Asia*, &c. and then adds, if that holy and Apostolick Elder had heard any such thing, he would straight have stopp'd his ears.

This therefore is but a weak Proof that he never saw any of *Ignatius* his epistles: but rather the contrary, he being as well as *Polycarp*

carp comprehended in the name *Elders*.

2. Because where he mentions the difference between *Anicetus*, Bishop of Rome and *Polycarp*, about the observation of *Easter*, he speaks not a word of *Ignatius*; especially considering that peremptory saying of his (in his Epistle to the *Philippians*) that if any one observed *Easter* with the *Jews*, he is partaker with those that slew the Lord and his Apostles: *Anicetus* might well have objected this to *Polycarp*. p. 270. *Ans.* You have little reason to say that the Epistle to the *Philippians*, was altogether unknown to *Irenaeus*, because he made not use of this passage to *Anicetus*: for 'tis conceived that those words fell not from the Pen of *Ignatius*, but were since foisted in by some one that corrupted that Epistle: we grant that *Irenaeus* never read those words there, nor could he well, seeing they were not at that time there to be found: Yet might he see that Epistle as it came out of the hands of *Ignatius*, which had no such blemish in it.

3. Because he is of a contrary mind unto *Ignatius*, about the time of Christ's abode upon earth: *Ignatius* rightly conceiving that being baptized about the thirtieth year of his Age, he remained on earth but three Passovers after that time: whereas *Irenaeus* thinks that he taught to his fortieth or fiftieth year. *Ans.* 1. *Irenaeus* was not bound to follow *Ignatius* in every thing, if he had a peculiar apprehension of his own in this matter, what eminent men have not in some things had the like, wherein yet sometimes they have been in the wrong? 2. *Irenaeus* erring herein, thought

thought he had reason for his opinion. Mr. Parker. lib. 4. §. 13. *de descensu*. speaks in his behalf. This tradition, saith he, of *Irenæus* carried in it a certain shew of truth, and seems to have a foundation from the Scriptures: He, *i. e.* Christ was called Master, and had the perfect age of a Master; he came to save every Age, therefore he passed through every one: thou art not yet fifty year old, *Job*. 8. 65. therefore was he forty or upward; for the Jews lyed not, or missed, twenty years. Also *Irenæus* brings in men of great name for Authors, namely the Elders which had lived with *John* in *Asia*. He quotes for this *Iren. lib. 2. cap. 39. 40.* No marvel then that he was mistaken, and his dissent from *Ignatius* herein, is but of little strength to prove, that he was altogether unacquainted with *Ignatius* his Epistles. I may here make use of Mr. *Dalee's* words, *cap. 9. p. 282.* where speaking of the disagreement of *Clemens Alexandrinus* from *Ignatius*, about the time of Christs preaching after his baptism, (whereas *Ignatius* saith it was three years, *Clemens* saith it was but one) he hath this passage: If *Clemens* had known the judgment of so great a man as *Ignatius*, without doubt he either for his piety would have followed it, or for his learning he would certainly have brought reasons and confirm'd it, why he thought not that to be followed: thus he. And this we find *Irenæus* to have done *viz.* To have produced reasons.

3. The third Argument or objection made by the dissenters, is drawn from the testimony of *Origen*, in whom are to be seen two passages of *Ignatius* that are found in his Epistles:

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the former in *hom. in Luc. cap. 6.* where naming *Ignatius*, I, saith he, found written in an epistle of his, that the virginity of *Mary* was hidden from the Prince of this world. *epist. ad Epbes.* The latter out of his prologue to his commentary on the *Canticles*: where he thus speaks. I remember that one of the Saints spake thus of Christ; *My love was crucified.* So *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Romans*.

Solut. The latter of these passages, he saith, that he spake but not that he writ so. *Ans. 1.* The word *ἔειπε* signifies speaking either with the voice, or by writing: As doth also the word *ἔγραψε* of the same import: as *Act. 17. 28.* As some of your own Poets have said *ἔειπεν*: instancing in a saying of *Aratus*, in his Poem entituled *Phænomena. 2.* He might both speak & write so too, see his answer to his Solution of the first argument from the testimony of *Irenæus. 2. Solut.* Each place, saith he, alledged out of *Origen*, is of uncertain and doubtful Authority.

Ans. 1. If those places be dubious, then the passages of *Ignatius* might be reported by *Origen* as well as not: And the Authority is of equal strength for the Affirmative or Negative; nothing certain can be concluded from them. 2. *Erasmus* his censure (which you produce who thinks it none of his) is not infallible: and *Merlin* (to whose pains we are beholding for one edition of *Origen*, who therefore should be acquainted with his works) is very confident that these commentaries are *Origen's*. 3. The reason for which they are judged to be the work of some Latine Author, seems not to be so cogent, *viz.* because some Greek words are interpreted by Latine: For
this

this he might do for the help of those that might not so well understand some Greek words; which therefore needed explication. Besides it is known that for *Origen's* works, although he wrote them in Greek, yet have we scarcely any of them at this day, but only in Latine; except his excellent answer to *Celsus* in eight books. Therefore these interpretations of divers Greek words by Latine; and the saying that such a Latine word or expression is rendred so or so in the Greek, may be done by the Translators of his works, which is most likely: from whence therefore it cannot be inferred that those Commentaries are none of *Origen's*. 4. For his homilies on *Luke* they are not mentioned by either *Cook* or *Rivet* among the Tracts falsely ascribed to *Origen*; which doubtless they would, and (in such a work, their censure) they ought to have done, had they judged them not to be *Origen's*. 5. *Jerom* the interpreter of these Homilies on *Luke* thinks them to be *Origen's*, but a birth of his younger years, and not so elaborate, for some errors sprinkled amongst them. *Sixt. Senens.* in *Biblioth.* which errors, as *Merlin* imagines, were inserted by those that envied him. So that notwithstanding what is said by *Mr. Dalle*, those sayings of *Ignatius* may have been related by *Origen*, which he might be acquainted with from his Epistles.

4. The fourth Argument or objection made by the dissenters, is drawn from the testimony of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, who in his Ecclesiastical History, *lib. 3. cap. 32.* mentions six Epistles of *Ignatius*: So the Reverend *Usser* accounts them, making that to the Church of

of *Smyrna*, and to *Polycarp* their Bishop to be the same, but others reckon seven, judging that to *Smyrna*, and that to *Polycarp* to be two distinct Epistles: These six or seven (saith Mr. *Dallee* p. 442.) we confess that *Eusebius* acknowledgeth and holds them to be truly the Epistles of *Ignatius*. To these Mr. *Dallee's* Solutions are.

1. *Solut.* His testimony is of no force being of a man that was two hundred years later than *Ignatius*. *Ans.* 1. The Epistles of *Ignatius* might well be preserved unto that time: many mens writings have remained many hundred years longer. 2. If so, then might *Eusebius* well come to the sight of them though others not; being a man so inquisitive after books, and *Pamphilus* his intimate companion, most studious and diligent in erecting the Library at *Cesarea*, and searching after books: So *Jerom.* *Julius Africanus* began a well furnished Library in the University of *Cesarea*, (saith *Middendorp* of *Academyes lib. 2.*) which *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* so enriched, that there is not a more famous one in the whole Earth. Being then so intimately acquainted with *Pamphilus* (as that he added his name to his own, being called *Eusebius Pamphili*) and assistant with him (who was very curious to find out the writings of those that went before him) in compleating his Library; questionless they would not omit so precious a treasure as the epistle of *Ignatius*; which (saith *Polycarp. epist. ad Philip.*) are such, that from them you may reap great profit, for they contain faith, patience, and all edification pertaining to our Lord. Here then *Eusebius* might come
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to see and peruse them, if he had them not among his own store. 3. The work he undertook and accomplished, (*viz.* The compiling of an Ecclesiastical History, wherein no one had gone before him) required that he should be supplied with fitting furniture for such an enterprise: who therefore being most inquisitive after the chief monuments of antiquity, doubtless would not neglect so choice a relique as those epistles, that might contribute not a little to his intended design. So that if *Ignatius* writ any epistles, (and, saith *Mr. Dalée* it were a foolish part in any to deny that he did, *p.* 450.) who was more likely to obtain them (reserved with utmost care by those that lived with him, as *Polycarp* and the Churches to whom he sent them) than *Eusebius*, so conducing to his purpose?

2 *Solut.* He leans, saith *Mr. Dalée* upon a broken Reed, *viz.* the two passages in *Polycarp* and *Irenæus*, which are falsely said to be found in them, as hath been made to appear. *Ans.* But we have shewed before that the allegations from them are a ground sufficient to prove that for which they were produced, and therefore I refer you to what hath been said hereof already.

3 *Solut.* He evidently overthrows this his opinion by somewhat laid down by himself elsewhere, (which *Mr. Dalée* stiles his Golden Rule) which is this, that no books inscribed with the names of the Ancients, are to be accounted for true, but only those whose testimonies were made use of by men, either of the same or certainly of the next memory or Age, *Euseb. lib. 3. c. 34.* *Ans.* *Eusebius* his words are these: speaking of the second Epistle of *Cle-*

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444.

ment Bishop of Rome to the *Corinthians*) we have to learn, saith he, that there is a second epistle of *Clement* which was not so received and approved of as the former, seeing we find not that the Elders (or Ancients) did use it. Now the question may be what use of it *Eusebius* means? Not that which Mr. *Dallee* intends, viz. their alledging of it in their writings; but the publick reading of it in the Churches: for so *Eusebius* records of his first epistle. One undoubted Epistle, saith he, of his there is extant, both worthy and notable, which he wrote from Rome unto *Corinth*, when sedition was raised among the *Corinthians*: the same epistle we have known to have been read publickly in many Churches both of old and amongst us also, *bist.* l. 3. c. 14. Again, saith he, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* writing an epistle to the *Romans*, viz. unto *Soter* their Bishop, remembreth the Epistle of *Clement* thus: we have, saith he, this day solemniz'd the holy Sunday, in which we have read your Epistle and always will for instructions sake, even as we do the former of *Clement* written unto us, *bist.* l. 4. c. 22. So that *Eusebius* his golyen rule (as you term it) being thus misunderstood by you, proves in its right sence, as no way advantageous unto you, so no whit at all prejudicial unto him.

Thus have I spoken a word in the behalf of *Ignatius*'s his epistles, which notwithstanding what hath been said by the learned Mr. *Dallee* do not appear to be altogether supposititious: and that, though they have been basely abused by unworthy persons with their corrupt interpolations, yet have we to this day found among us some remains of the monuments of that eminent and glorious Martyr.

FINIS.

